

# **Submerged Literature in Ancient Greek Culture**

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*Giulio Colesanti, Manuela Giordano (Eds.)*

# SUBMERGED LITERATURE IN ANCIENT GREEK CULTURE

AN INTRODUCTION



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# **Submerged Literature in Ancient Greek Culture**



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Edited by Giulio Colesanti  
and Manuela Giordano

**DE GRUYTER**

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Alla cara memoria di Luigi Enrico Rossi

# Acknowledgements

This volume is dedicated to Luigi Enrico (Chico) Rossi (1933–2009), inspiring and devoted teacher, who taught Greek literature at the University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’ with relentless enthusiasm and founded a thriving forty year tradition of seminars.

We would like to thank all the contributors to this volume for having supported our endeavour with trust and encouragement; particular thanks to Andrea Ercolani, who has the merit of having proposed the theme of submerged literature for a series of seminars.

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G. C. and M. G.

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## Introductory Notes

The theme and definition of ‘submerged literature’ stems from the writings of the late Luigi Enrico Rossi,<sup>1</sup> common teacher to most contributors to this volume. In particular, in a set of unpublished notes from 1995, Rossi proposed

to initiate a *recensio* of that part of Greek literature which never received publication (although this description is inaccurate for anything predating the fourth century BCE: ‘which never received poly-centric distribution’, we may better say). Literature of this kind never enjoyed the protection of either the polis or any other authority with institutionalized – let us say – literary credentials.<sup>2</sup>

Rossi stimulated a discussion of this idea among his pupils and in 2000 published a paper with a few pages dedicated to the subject, where submerged literature served as a label encompassing mainly those texts that were not protected during their transmission by social contexts and institutions<sup>3</sup> and were therefore excluded by the circuits of transmission, but that can nonetheless be reconstructed. Luigi Enrico Rossi did not develop his project any further.

As an ideal continuation of his project, a research group of Rossi’s pupils<sup>4</sup> launched a series of seminars (2011–2014) hinging on the subject of submerged literature as a far-reaching approach to Greek literature as well as to Greek cultural history. This volume presents most of the results of the 2011–2012 seminar held at ‘Sapienza’ in Rome (*Fuori dal canone. La letteratura greca sommersa*) that set out to investigate the methods and the questions around submerged literature. The investigation continues to this day.<sup>5</sup>

The research on submerged literature has prompted us to redefine apparently familiar categories such as author, text, genre, occasion, canon, and literature, above all, in terms more fitting to ancient Greek culture. As our research proceeded, it became increasingly clear how some of these

categories are liable, if unchecked, to turn into conceptual pitfalls. First and foremost, it became apparent that recourse to the category of literature is a highly controversial matter vis-à-vis oral and aural cultures – an observation that finds a correlative in the absence of a match for our term ‘literature’ in ancient Greek.<sup>6</sup> This is not to say ‘literature’ should be altogether dispensed with as a conventional term of reference, although one should be aware of the potential misapprehensions resting with a notion that is ill-suited to represent a properly emic point of view.

As a working definition, we propose to understand ‘literature’ for the purposes of this volume as a concept covering the whole range of texts produced for a socially relevant occasion; that is, all the texts that contributed to configure and articulate Greek culture as we know it from written and material sources, with the additional proviso that the term literature be used as a non-evaluative term. This definition implies a reassessment of the term literature and its extension to include, alongside preserved and lost texts, those texts we may reconstruct circumstantially, by way of investigation, regardless of their having been conceived for transmission. In this respect, reflecting upon submerged literature may provide a new way and a new model to understand texts and cultural history. Within the scope of submerged literature we may therefore take into account texts ranging from the religious to the legal or anthropological domains, from forensic speeches to choral odes, from ‘mystery cult’ texts to lullabies. This does not mean that the term literature, under this definition, can be foisted upon any variety of distinct textual types: in our perspective, on the contrary, whether a certain text is a ‘literary’ text is no longer an informative question; our assumption, rather, is to regard Ancient Greek texts as a unified and interrelated province.

This book, moreover, reflects an approach to Greek texts as ‘context’ rather than text, that cropped up early on in our investigation, an approach that bestows primacy to occasion and hence performance, and follows the lead of a thriving approach in Ancient Greek studies that found particularly fertile terrain in Italy (Gentili, Rossi). Occasion is seen as the living and encompassing context under which the phenomenon of an aesthetically marked discourse becomes significant: until the end of the fifth century, occasion oriented genres to a far greater extent than the reverse held true, producing a common code shared by the participants through

recurring patterns, themes, and forms.<sup>7</sup> In this direction, the investigation on submerged literature endeavours to tackle the occasions as well as the contexts, the spaces, and the conditions of transmission and diffusion of Ancient Greek texts, benefiting from anthropological and archeological hermeneutics as well. The picture that we offer in this volume criss-crosses dynamics of synchrony and diachrony, and explores the twilight area dividing lost and submerged texts. The essays contained here deal with questions of hermeneutics, philology and methodology as well as with epic Cycles, lyric poetry, tragedy, comedy, satyr play, and mime. In dealing with these genres from the point of view of submerged literature, the book attempts to provide a more precise contextualization of the texts in the ancient Greek system of communication and performance, mapping those texts individually and by typology together with the occasions of their performance.

This volume is a collaborative and shared work, as it sprouts from continual, intense, and rewarding discussions of the research group: each paper has been thoroughly discussed, scrutinized and commented upon in informal meetings by all the contributors to this volume. In this respect the volume rather represents a common undertaking than a set individual achievements, leading to final conclusions bearing the authorship of the entire research group.

This climate of lively and engaged scholarly conversations as well as the practice of putting *es meson* the issues at stake is the beautiful and standing legacy of our teacher, who often remarked that discussion is the essential part of any seminar.

The volume intends to encourage further extensive investigation that will hopefully foster a new understanding of ancient Greek culture and envisage its unique dynamics of orality and literacy under a new hermeneutic frame. To be sure, this first volume cannot aspire to completeness: it is our aim to pursue a more thorough treatment of the subject, from different angles, in two forthcoming volumes of the series we here inaugurate. It should at this point be apparent that the objective of this first stage in the research was to state a case (albeit broadly framed), rather than to supply all of the answers.

The introductory section defines and puts into perspective the models and tools of the research. In the first essay, Andrea Ercolani questions the heuristic validity of the terms 'literature' and 'genre' in approaching ancient Greek texts.

From a historical perspective the terms 'texts' and 'occasion' seem to work best in reconstructing more carefully the historical scenario of Greek culture up until the end of the fifth century BCE. In this essay Ercolani sets out to define the issues revolving around 'submerged' texts and particularly the connection between socially relevant occasion and Greek poetry. The question is further developed in essay two, where Riccardo Palmisciano offers an ample overview of the conditions of poetic communication in the archaic and classical ages, providing a working framework within which to locate discourse around submerged texts. Particular attention is given in this essay to the dynamics connecting the emergence of authorial figures against a background of traditional anonymous repertoire, showing how their mutual influence developed a veritable system of poetic communication. In the third essay, Roberto Nicolai tackles the role of grammar and rhetoric schools in influencing and directing the opposite dynamics of emergence and protection and of submersion and marginalization of texts. As lists of excellent authors, literary canons come about as products of schools' activity as well as the expression of the tastes of different audiences - to which canons in their turn contributed. In this essay, Nicolai also investigates the role of canons in the process of selection and in giving rise to the phenomena of emergence and submersion. Maria Broggiato deals with the issue of textual selection under a different angle in her essay, examining the surviving records of authors and genres studied in the Hellenistic age. Broggiato illustrates how the limited set of texts to be edited and commented on at the scholarly centres of Alexandria and Pergamum had been previously established in fifth- and fourth- century Athens, by Aristotle and his school in particular. Although Hellenistic scholars mostly concentrated on these works, there is, nonetheless, some documentation regarding their interest in minor authors, in non-canonical genres, and also in a number of coeval poets.

The second section applies the suggestions and methodology of the introductory essays to six case studies illustrative of the dynamics of submersion. In essay five, Livio Sbardella argues for a significant case of submersion in the archaic epic tradition, where the guild of the Homeridae from Chios successfully promoted their repertoire to the rank of mainstream epic tradition, eventually prevailing over parallel narrative traditions of their time. In particular, Sbardella

reconstructs the activity of a competing guild, the Creophileans of Samos, depositaries of a distinct epic cycle. The author brings to light the political and cultural factors which, as early as the late-archaic age, concurred in dooming to submersion this alternative epic cycle. In essay six, Laura Lulli continues the investigation of epic cycles and poems, with a focus on regional and civic traditions. Lulli tries to unravel the vast and complex net of lost and submerged poems, often attested by their titles only. The author identifies a connecting thread in the local dimension of these poems, whose themes and myths hinged on precise historical issues and local variations of mythical narratives, an aspect of indisputable interest within the limits of a local audience but that proved in the long run a main factor of submersion in the Panhellenic arena.

Giulio Colesanti examines in essay seven the poetic production connected to the occasion of the symposium (seventh – fifth cent. BCE), a production that underwent different stages of submersion determined by diverse cultural and political factors. Colesanti further examines the lullaby as a different type of monodic poetry, composed by and large by women. The author argues that lullabies are a perpetually emergent typology of text on the synchronic level, due to the recursive nature of their compositional occasion, and explores the dynamics which conversely resulted in the total submersion of the individual texts on the diachronic level, partly due to the failure to secure their written transmission.

The three remaining essays are devoted to drama. In essay eight Riccardo Palmisciano deals with satyr drama, with particular relation to non-verbal communication, sign language and its encoding in pottery. Palmisciano analyses in this light the Attic aryballos of Nearchus, representing a choreography of characters dressed as satyrs and a battle between Pigmies and cranes. The reading of the vase's iconography allows Palmisciano to reconstruct a dramatic action referable to a *satyrikon* predating Pratinas' production. In essay nine Maurizio Sonnino deconstructs the hitherto current view of mime as the original form of 'secular' farce giving rise to the more canonical forms of the fifth and fourth century BCE. Sonnino recovers the rich and complex plurality of submerged laughter-inducing spectacles (from the Theban *Kabeirion* to the italic *phlyakes*) connected to precise socio-ritual occasions that acted as the fertile background for more elaborate forms (in Megara, Athens, and Syracuse in

particular). Sonnino shows furthermore that dramatic mime is, contrary to current opinion, a later elaborate production that underwent submersion in that it eluded the mechanisms of textual control. In essay ten Manuela Giordano maps out some of the occasions homologous to tragedy that may have prompted the production of texts. Giordano conducts her investigation guided by the *theatron*, the spatial context of tragedy. The author lists different typologies of spaces, from sanctuaries to agora, and identifies the discriminating factors that would explain the emergence of tragedy.

The concluding essay advocates a fresh approach to ancient Greek texts and beyond, putting forward a more integral model, bridging historical, anthropological and philological perspectives; this model highlights cultural dynamics of exclusion and inclusion and the agency of political institutions and influential groups and centres. We hope that this model may prove fruitful in opening new perspectives and diverse fields of research.



# Defining the Indefinable: Greek Submerged Literature and Some Problems of Terminology

In what follows, I shall concentrate on a set of issues which are not always given due consideration, and sometimes are ignored entirely, when approaching the texts of ancient Greek culture. I shall take the cue from an observation by Luigi Enrico Rossi:

By '*submerged*' literature I mean [...] texts which were mistreated from the very beginning of their transmission, and even texts which were not transmitted at all. These texts benefited of neither *control* nor *protection*, either because *no community had any interest in their preservation*, or because it was in the interest of a community that they be concealed, and even suppressed (as in the instance of everything that had to do with the mysteries). It is the case, however, that while a good deal of these texts have engage us in a game of hide-and-seek, their part in shaping Greek culture as we know it was in fact considerable: there would be a great deal to gain if we could bring them back to light, although only parts of the whole may be recovered. For some time I have been thinking about the advantages of arranging these texts into a collection, which should display the (very few) fully preserved texts first, then the fragments, and finally the *testimonia*. The task would not be easy to accomplish, but deserves to be attempted.<sup>8</sup>

It is from this remark, which Rossi made almost *en passant*, that our inquiry into 'submerged Greek literature' stems. As we engage with Rossi's notion and attempt to develop it, we may provisionally designate by the term 'submerged' all texts

and authors that even in antiquity left scant traces among their successors, and which therefore, as a matter of course, hardly feature in modern literary histories.<sup>9</sup>

## 1 Problems of definition

In approaching ancient Greek 'literature' from the angle of that which is unknown and marginal, rather than that which is known and outstanding, I believe we need to reconsider the heuristic and operative validity of some of the terms and concepts we employ, particularly the categories of 'literature' (and cognate words) and (literary) 'genre'. Both are standard in our studies, and both were addressed by Rossi, directly or by implication, in the discussion in the passage cited above.

### 1.1 The concept of 'literature': ourselves and the Ancients

One concise definition of 'literature' reads: 'written works, esp. those considered of superior or lasting artistic merit.'<sup>10</sup> Expanding on this definition of literature by reference to modern theories, it is possible to identify four main currents: falling within these definitions of literature (or of literary texts *vel sim.*) are: 1. texts which belong within (or better: stand in dialectical relation with) a given tradition, either by analogy or in opposition; 2. fictional texts characterized by formal and structural elaboration (= texts which are made conspicuous by elaboration, in Jakobson's words, of the poetic function);<sup>11</sup> 3. texts with overt rhetorical connotations (such as to constitute a shift from other codes); 4. broadly, by reference to the etymology of the term 'literature' (< lat. *littera*), any written text.<sup>12</sup>

If we consider the overall textual production of ancient Greece, each of the above definitions, individually taken, falls short of a comprehensive and historically appropriate description of the facts. Although each bears on some aspect of the texts of ancient Greece in their historical dimension, and highlights some constitutive or salient feature, none is sufficiently inclusive. As a heuristic device, the first definition is perhaps to be preferred above the others, although patently not all texts can be so forcibly related to a tradition (since there is, in some instances, no tradition to which to refer). The last definition is wholly inapplicable to the more archaic Greek

texts, which developed within a dominantly, if not absolutely, oral/aural culture. The second definition is inappropriate to describe numerous texts which, historically regarded, have nothing fictional about them (historical narratives, orations, biographies, etc.), and fails to apply to poetic texts which, in Jakobson's terms, privilege the conative function (as in the instance of archaic lyric poetry).<sup>13</sup> The third definition, even if we discount temporarily its reliance on the notion of 'rhetoric' (in itself ambiguous and requiring further clarification), is not adequate to describe a vast textual production with no apparent 'rhetorical' design and which was conceived, rather, as representation of the standard forms of current usage (the dialogues of Plato being one example).<sup>14</sup>

When we apply the definition of 'literature' to ancient Greek texts, more-over, we enforce a modern category upon a culture to which the concept, as we understand it, was entirely foreign.<sup>15</sup> There is no evidence, in extant Greek texts of the archaic and classical ages, of any term or concept the definition of which would cover the range of texts represented in our handbooks of 'ancient Greek literature'. The outlook of ancient Greek authors and of the early literary historians and theorists who treated them (from Plato [*praesertim* in *Phaedrus* 278c] to the Alexandrian grammarians, via Aristotle) appears to have been analytic rather than synthetic; being sensitive to the distinctive features of the different types of text, they would not have seen the scope for any *reductio ad unum*.<sup>16</sup>

Greek culture, in its archaic phase at least, seems to have conceived texts (or rather: the conditions for the production of texts) as a multi-faceted social phenomenon. That is to say, textual production was understood as a communicative act occurring within a framework of specific events and occasions, in accordance with a set of conventions and institutional requirements.<sup>17</sup> It turns out, then, that the notion of literature as applied to the overall class of texts produced within a culture is in fact an etic, not an emic, category:<sup>18</sup> although we may leave the notion in place for ease of reference, we should be aware that it was wholly alien to the point of view of the ancient Greeks.

## **1.2 Literary genre: a self-serving definition**

The taxonomies upon which we rely are still informed by the partition (of Hegelian descent) of literary production (poetic

production, markedly) into epic, lyric, and drama, despite its having long proven inadequate to describe the cultural phenomena of ancient Greece.

A description of the textual production of ancient Greek culture in the terms of a 'theory of genre' proves indeed both misguided and misleading in the examination of prose texts, as the critical category of the 'novel' serves to illustrate. The category of the novel is not contemplated in any of the ancient treatises; it is, rather, an eminently modern category, on account of which a series of disparate texts came to be (more or less coherently) regarded as forming a set, although the texts had never been regarded as a class in antiquity (the same, let us note, holds for the epigram).

In the domain of ancient Greek culture, genres, and poetic genres in particular, are currently defined (and were so defined in antiquity, to a certain extent) on the grounds of such constitutive textual elements as metre (to which an *ethos* was originally associated as its fundamental distinctive character) and dialect.<sup>19</sup>

Formal criteria are not, however, the only criteria imaginable, nor the only ones to have been employed in the classification of texts. The Alexandrian grammarians (arguably the most eminent representatives of ancient Greek 'metaliterary' speculation) employed a broader set of criteria than the formal in the classification of earlier texts.<sup>20</sup> We know of several instances of genres defined by destination or contents, or, indeed, by the occasion of a text's composition or performance.<sup>21</sup>

If, therefore, 'literary genre' is to be at all validated as a category, we need to seek its rationale in the historical development of the category. M. Depew and D. Obbink (in the introduction to Depew and Obbink 2000) move from their assessment of the culture of archaic Greece as prevalently oral to suggest that the concept of genre be framed in the terms of particular performances delivered in real life situations, in which communication is mediated by the audience's expectations with regard to conventions. Genre is defined as 'a conceptual orienting device that suggests to a hearer the sort of receptorial conditions in which a fictive discourse might have been delivered' (Depew and Obbink 2000, 6).<sup>22</sup> In other terms, as Gentili in 1984 has amply demonstrated, we may more accurately say that a relation of derivation holds between a given set of texts and the occasion for which they are produced. Shifting the perspective

once again, genre is not given a priori with regard to the occasion: there is no such thing as an abstract dimension of genre prior to the individual occasion; rather, the occasion commands that a given textual output be produced in conformity to certain *dictamina* that are, so to speak, intrinsic or implicit.<sup>23</sup>

In this sense, rather than draw a map of ‘submerged’ literary genres, we should aim to draw a map of the occasions (viz. of social events of collective import), and draw on all available data (not only texts and epigraphs, but also iconographic sources, archaeological findings, and comparative ethnographic evidence). We may then proceed to verify for which and how many of these occasions we have the correlated textual materials, setting aside for the time being all issues of contents and form.

## 2 Orality and the notion of ‘text’

Having discussed the term ‘literature’ and framed the issue of ‘genres’ (which, however they be defined, are to be seen as subordinated to occasions until at least the end of the fifth century BCE, and probably beyond), we should define more precisely what may be, or is to be, understood by ‘text’.

Ancient Greek culture remained prevalently oral in the archaic age and through to the end of the fifth century BCE.<sup>24</sup> Within an oral culture, communicative dynamics and requirements are not the ones to which we are accustomed. First of all, the texts of a culture that is strictly, or even eminently, oral, are, almost axiomatically, not inalterable:<sup>25</sup> texts are conceived for a communicative instance (= occasion); their lifespan tends to be coextensive with the timeframe of their execution; and only a few (selected on various grounds) are committed to memory and thus preserved in a specific form, and only for as long as it is historically meaningful and pertinent to maintain them in that given form. As social needs vary, the texts are subject to modification as a matter of course (by integral/partial substitution or by alterations of variable extent), and no record survives of prior versions.<sup>26</sup>

In an oral culture, the occasions for which the production of a text is required are, in practice, all public occasions:<sup>27</sup> radical though the conclusion may seem, it follows from this premise that all texts of all occasions become part, *de iure*, of

the set we define 'literature'.

If we replace the concepts of literature<sup>28</sup> and literary genre with those of *text* and *occasion*, we are, I believe, in a better position to appraise ancient Greek 'literature' in its own terms, which is to say as a historical entity. What we shall hereafter understand by 'text', then, is any elaboration (oral and/or written) of a message destined for an audience (i.e. intended for an addressee), whereas we shall take 'occasion' to mean any social event of collective import.

The latter considerations call for a *caveat* (regarding which see also below) in so far as the original link between text and occasion was progressively weakened and finally severed as the book became the established *medium* of communication. This process affected not just the composition of the text (an aspect we shall not here investigate), but also the publication and circulation of texts: as the book gained eminence, the traditional avenues for the publication and circulation of several texts progressively narrowed, became less frequented, and eventually vanished entirely. Thus, as the circulation of written texts gradually took over from oral publication, the bonds between text and occasion were ultimately severed entirely.

### 3 Texts and institutional control

The inquiry into the dynamics of submersion leads to inquiries of a more general order into the constitution of the cultural traditions of past societies and the control to which their development was subject. We are, that is, called to investigate the workings of what we may call a collective 'cultural memory', presiding over what is to be remembered, and what, conversely, is to be forgotten.

The self-image of any given culture is, so to speak, a 'mental' projection, informed, *inter alia*, by the texts of that culture: as the history of a society unfolds, it is established (whether explicitly or implicitly, declaredly or tacitly) that some texts are more important than others, and that the latter are not to be preserved, circulated, and imitated. These selective acts are all, essentially, forms of canonization.<sup>29</sup> The investigation of these dynamics helps us discriminate that which is submerged from that which has emerged and even, in some instances, to trace the progress in time of a given text-type: graphically, the consecutive stations of the

progression of a text will describe a sinusoid curve, as the text is seen to go through phases of emergence and submersion.<sup>30</sup>

At the same time, due to the incompleteness of the evidence at hand, we may be induced to regard as submerged phenomena which, in their own time and social setting, were far from being so. We can turn once again to communication in cultures governed by orality, for plain instances of textual productions which might at one time have enjoyed broad circulation, and now, quite contrary to the historical facts, elude our perception or appear to us as submerged, for the simple reason that they were never set down in writing, nor recorded by later *testimonia*.

In the passage cited in our introduction, Rossi suggests that we regard institutional control (by the polis, notably) as a potential determinant of the emergence or submersion of a text. I believe this issue has to be explored. Undoubtedly, the knowledge that a given text was subject to some form of control is significant to the ends of our assessment: whenever a community invests energy and resources in controlling a text, that fact alone signals that the text is valued by the community. In terms of our categories, the text is to be ranked with the 'emerged'. We may almost automatically assume that written texts were more readily controllable, theoretically. The stabilization of a text in writing, that is, could easily be read as the clearest line of demarcation between submersion and emergence, especially when the text had also received 'editorial' attentions of some order, institutionally promoted by the polis (or other actors: e.g. the rhapsodic guilds).

As a matter of fact, however, this criterion may not hold across the board. In principle, the texts produced within an oral system of communication can be controlled just as effectively: indeed, control over traditional texts might even have been stricter, precisely on account of their eminence within the cultural system of the age, and by virtue of their being entrusted to memory techniques.<sup>31</sup>

Our tradition has recorded only that which is set down in writing. What need not follow, nor ought to follow, is that whatever our tradition has preserved in writing was of greater importance (or, in antiquity, more lasting) than anything that was not so preserved.<sup>32</sup>

## 4 Concluding remarks

It appears to me that our investigation could be more profitably conducted if we dismissed the categories of literature and genre. Although it may be debatable whether it is necessary to do so, I have attempted to illustrate their heuristic shortcomings, and their descriptive limitations vis-à-vis ancient Greek textual production.<sup>33</sup> I have thus suggested that reasoning more or less systematically in terms of 'text' and 'occasion' may prove the more productive approach.

I further believe that as we attempt to understand what part of ancient Greek textual production became 'submerged', in what manner, and why, we shall have to address a certain number of issues. Firstly, it will be necessary to identify the occasions in which the performance of a text was required (or would appear to have been required, on the grounds of circumstantial or comparative evidence). Secondly, we will need to produce a historical account of the developments in public institutions, and of their vested interests in promoting, maintaining, or suppressing specific occasions and the texts that were their correlate.<sup>34</sup> Thirdly, we will have to discriminate, to whatever possible extent, between submerged texts (= marginal, partially relevant, not valued at subsequent stages in cultural history) and lost texts (= not handed down due to accidental circumstances in the tradition).<sup>35</sup> Fourthly, we should investigate the mechanisms whereby 'canons' are constituted, even when the canon is, so to speak, implicit, unstated (it is possible, although by no means a given, that the texts of which we are informed by a cultural system should constitute a *de facto* canon, and those of which we are not informed, constitute the submerged component). Finally, we shall have to bear firmly in mind that a dividing line discriminates a pre- and a post- phase in the history we aim to investigate: that there was an earlier phase in which events were decided by the peculiar dynamics of orality and occasions, and a later phase in which such factors gradually ceased to be relevant, eventually to become wholly insignificant. The emergence of the book produced a radical transformation in the system of communication which, as of the beginning of the fourth century BCE, increasingly gathered force and grew in scale.<sup>36</sup> As written forms of communication began to circulate, the system centred on performance occasions accordingly began to fail, and the need to devise formal criteria for the identification and classification of texts arose in parallel.<sup>37</sup>

If, at the end of our discussion, we finally return to the



definition of 'submersion' proposed by Rossi, we may agree that it covers three distinct groupings of texts:

1. texts that were not attached to any institutional public occasion (if any existed!);
2. texts attached to occasions which were discontinued;
3. texts to which the institutions did not attend, and which enjoyed no form of conservation (archival *vel sim.*)

As we examine the texts on an individual basis, we may also test the validity and diagnostic potential of assuming the peculiar vantage point of the texts that came out losing. Their defeat was the result of some form of cultural selection, and this has to be distinguished most accurately from accidents of transmission *sensu stricto*.

# Submerged Literature in an Oral Culture

## 1 Greek poetry as occasional poetry, and therefore oral

In this paper I shall be offering some general thoughts on the conditions of poetic communication in the archaic and classical age, in an attempt to define what we should mean by submerged literature in this period.

It is now unquestioned that Greek culture was, for many centuries, essentially oral/aural.<sup>38</sup> This means that, quite apart from whether or not writing was used in composing the text (and sometimes for preservation as well), the moment in which poetry was enjoyed was its performance. Poetry lived, then, at the precise moment of its performance, and each expression of it could last no longer than the exact time of its utterance. There was concreteness in the experience of poetry, even tangibility, we might say, since the poetic word had an obvious physical texture and the listener was struck, first of all, by waves of sound bearing meaning. It may have been the very physicality of the dimension of sound in oral poetry that led the Greeks to assimilate and even identify poetry with music: both forms of expression were founded, above all, on sounds organized according to pre-established rhythmical sequences. And it may also have been because of the concrete nature of the two forms of expression that the Greeks regarded both as being such effective psychagogic devices. Being fully aware of the power of the word as it was physically uttered, the ancient poets and their influential patrons never lost sight of this dimension, even when the odes that were to be kept in family or city archives were composed to order: the great choral odes, before they enjoyed the reified condition of a prestigious object to be preserved, of an *agalma*, received spectacular orchestric-musical performances.

The pre-eminence of the reality of performance in melic archaic and classical poetry has been clearly demonstrated in many modern studies, leading to a conclusion that may be worth re-emphasizing: the oral character of ancient Greek culture was a necessary consequence of the fact that throughout the archaic and classical age all of Greek poetry was a poetry of occasion.<sup>39</sup> Even when writing was available, the ancient Greeks continued to enjoy poetic texts within the timeframe of an event. The fleeting arc of time in which the words reached their audience was, furthermore, not a time without conditioning, but an integral part of a socially relevant event – one often organized by institutions of the city – for which the poet conceived a text. The power of the word was put in the service of the specific purpose of the individual occasion, which in the vast majority of cases was ritual in nature. The authentic meaning of a poetic text, then, could only be reconstructed in detail through an understanding of the cultural event in which it was created.

Let us try to summarize the main occasions of melic poetry and the names of the texts that were associated with them.<sup>40</sup>

| <b>Occasion</b>                                                                                                             | <b>Ancient name of the texts</b>                                                    | <b>Historically known authors who composed these texts (until the fifth century bce)</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <hr/> Rites and feasts:<br>• Dionysian cult/<br>poetic <i>agon</i>                                                          | • dithyramb                                                                         | • Arion, Lasus,<br>Ibycus, Simonides,<br>Bacchylides, Pindar                             |
| • cult of Dionysus<br>• cults of Adonis<br>• cult of Demeter<br>• cult of Demeter<br>• cult of Apollo<br>• cult (of Apollo) | • ἀλήτις<br>• Adonic<br>• γεφυρισμός<br>• ἀμαξῶν ᾄσματα<br>• δαφνηφορικά<br>• paeon | • Sappho                                                                                 |
| • cult of Artemis<br>• indefinable cult                                                                                     | • οὔπιγγοι<br>• hyporchema                                                          | • Thaletas,<br>Tynnichus,<br>Bacchylides, Pindar<br>• Pindar                             |
| • initiation rites                                                                                                          | • partheneion                                                                       | • Pratinas, Pindar,<br>Bacchylides<br>• Alcman,<br>Simonides, Pindar,<br>Bacchylides     |

|                                      |                                                       |                                                                                     |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| • processions                        | • prosodic                                            | • Eumelus, Pindar, Bacchylides                                                      |
| • phallic processions                | • φαλλικά, ἰθύφαλλοι                                  |                                                                                     |
| • athletic <i>agones</i>             | • epinikion                                           | • Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides                                                    |
| • wedding                            | • hymenean                                            | • Sappho                                                                            |
|                                      | • epithalamian                                        | • Sappho                                                                            |
| • funeral rites                      | • γόος                                                |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • θρῆνος                                              | • Simonides, Pindar                                                                 |
| • symposia                           | • sympotic hymns and songs                            | • All the monodic, iambic and elegiac poets. Alcman, Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides |
| • meetings of the <del>thiasus</del> | • songs (not otherwise specified)                     | • Sappho                                                                            |
| War                                  | • ἐμβατήρια or ἐνόπλια μέλη                           |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • ἱβυκή                                               |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • <del>triumphal songs</del>                          |                                                                                     |
| Working activities                   | • Lityerses (harvesting)                              |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • Bormos (harvesting)                                 |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • οὔλος (harvesting)                                  |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • Linus (harvesting, grape-picking, working the flax) |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • ἐπιλήνια μέλη (grape-stamping)                      |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • ἱμαῖον/ἱμαλῖς (grinding)                            |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • βουκολιασμός (sheep-farming)                        |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • νόμιος (sheep-farming)                              |                                                                                     |
| Collecting offerings                 | • song of the swallows                                |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • εἰρεσιώνη                                           |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • <del>κορώνισμα</del>                                |                                                                                     |
| Social occasions                     | • παρακλαυσίθυρον                                     |                                                                                     |
|                                      | • songs of entertainment:                             |                                                                                     |

- a) ἄνθεμα
  - b) τριχορία
  - c) *ballematiae*
    - love songs:
      - a) song of Locri
      - b) Ionic songs
      - c) nomios
      - d) Harpalyce
      - e) Calyce
      - f) Chalcis' song                      Stesichorus (?)
      - g) serenades
- 

For the sake of completeness we should also add the songs linked to childhood, such as lullabies<sup>41</sup> and play songs, like the bronze fly and the tortoise. There are also two fragments of sailors' songs that have come down to us from the papyri of Oxyrhynchus (POxy 425, 1383).

The first fact to emerge from this schematic representation is that poetry accompanied all the fundamental moments of Greek life. There was no significant event that did not have a specific poetic form associated with it. Poetry was present throughout of daily life and played a particularly important role in feasts and symposia. As these occasions had always existed in ancient Greek culture, we can reasonably suppose that there had always been anonymous, traditional poetic texts for these occasions.

Considering the question in terms of submerged literature is an attempt to understand why so much of such a considerable production of texts has been lost, and why we know so little about those texts. Such an endeavour requires understanding the mechanism by which ancient Greek poetic culture functioned, and placing the surviving texts in a proper relation with the enormous traditional (and submerged) poetic heritage that surrounded them. It does not mean restoring to life texts that no longer exist, but rather more precisely contextualizing what has survived<sup>42</sup> and showing that what has remained shared the same conditions of communication as the anonymous and traditional forms.

In the case of melic poetry it is not difficult to verify these claims, as some of the traditional poetic texts listed above also had an authorial phase; that is to say, in the course of time historically determined personalities composed poems in these traditional genres. We can make two preliminary remarks about these texts, which were later classified as

genres on the basis of categories that are essentially alien to the period in which the texts were produced:<sup>43</sup> the poetic texts that became associated with an authorial figure are only a part of the overall production of poetic texts, and, also, *no poet in the archaic and classical age ever invented a genre*.

Whatever information we may take from ancient sources on the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* of a genre, it is a fact that all ancient Greek poetic genres had existed long before the poets who 'invented' them. This is not due to any lack of creativity in the ancient poets, it is rather due to the fact that in order to create a genre the poet would have had to create an occasion, a task that was clearly beyond a poets' powers. In ancient Greece it was the social and political institutions that created poetic genres, in this respect we can describe the poetry of the ancient Greeks as a 'necessary art': without it, the social event would have been seriously impaired and in some cases even impossible.

It therefore seems that the only literary genres actually invented in the archaic and classic age were those of prose: e.g. history, the philosophical/scientific treatise, and entertainment narrative - all of them unconnected with a pre-existing social occasion or ritual.

## 2 The occasion as a moment of environmental learning

The occasion, however, did not only perform the function of stimulating the production of poetic texts, but also determined their form and content. Socially meaningful occasions were the main moment for learning poetry, both for ordinary people and those who aspired to become poets. This is shown by the very words of a great poet of the ancient world, Bacchylides of Ceos:

Bacchylid. *paean*.

ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφός

τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν. [Οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾶστον]

ἀρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας

ἐξευρεῖν.

Everyone becomes expert thanks to another,  
in the past as now. [It is not easy in fact]

to find the way of words that have not been said.

In the context of a prevailing oral civilization, a poet's apprenticeship consisted first of all in acquiring the heritage of myths and expressive forms that make up the poetic tradition. This was a process of spontaneous learning through participation from an early age in the moments of collective life that entailed the presence of poetry. In these circumstances, listening repeatedly to traditional songs and observing how the most expert (or the other poets) composed and performed their odes, the aspiring poets memorized the texts and learned a method of composing. In a different, but culturally analogous, context, Ernesto De Martino collected this explicit testimony: 'During my research on funeral laments in Lucania I often asked how ritual mourning was learnt and how this knowledge circulated in the communities. In general, I was told that the laments have been heard since childhood during the funeral rites or on All Souls Day, and are repeated in the pretend funerals of children's games, and this fixes them in the cultural memory without any other training'.<sup>44</sup>

Poetic composition in the oral/aural period is based on an expressive tradition whose rules did not need to be stated, as they could be learnt by imitation of actual examples. Throughout this long period the rules of poetic composition were determined by the requirements of the occasions involving poetry, respected by virtue of the rigorous control exercised by the community involved in the performance. In these conditions of communication the poets' main aim was not to disappoint their audience, whose reaction they could understand immediately. The circular flow of communication in an oral culture makes the term 'author' problematic: the audience must be regarded as an active part in the production of the text, in that it determines the choices of the addresser of the text – to use a less ambiguous term.

Luigi Enrico Rossi has taught us the importance of the unwritten rules of which the archaic Greek poet must have been aware.<sup>45</sup> We can extend the concept to the audience as well, in the sense that these poetic rules were well known, originating in relation to occasions that had, above all, a social and often ritual function. In a context of face-to-face society *all those present are competent* in judging poetry as a form of communication, because all those present have already witnessed many other poetic performances that accompanied

a social event in the past. The culturally homogenous group that made up the audience for poetry, by its mere presence, exercised a control over the appropriateness of the content and formal expressions of the poetic text in relation to the occasion. This appropriateness was, in my view, the sum total of the rules of which Rossi spoke; rules shared by poet and audience alike that did not need to be stated explicitly. The social group's control was as rigorous as it was implicit, since its power was the cultural homogeneity of both poet and audience.

Although the occasion was the most important moment for learning a poetic repertoire, the epic genre should be considered a special case. In two previous works, I have dealt with this question in more detail.<sup>46</sup> As I have argued elsewhere, particularly during the period when the practice of composition in performance of long poems was still a living tradition, the bard's profession was too technically complex to be learned simply by repeated sittings at epic performances. This also applies to the period in which the singer became, above all, a skilled performer of pre-prepared poems, because even the most gifted listeners could certainly learn passages by heart, but certainly not entire long poems. For these reasons, access to epic poetry as the deliverer of the text was limited to specialized figures, and this also seemed to apply to the lyric developments of epic poetry (I am thinking mainly of the output of Terpander, Stesichorus, and Ibycus).

Even if we hold to this distinction, we can say that not even epic poetry was alien to the circular mechanism between addresser and addressee that we have mentioned. Here too, the audience was well trained in the subject and capable of judging whether a bard's performance complied with the tradition of the epic episode chosen by the singer and if his formal choices conformed with the rules of traditional poetic practice.

### **3 The only 'professional' lyric genres are choral ones**

A further consideration concerns the fact that the only genres of lyric in ancient Greece that were professionally developed were choral ones. By this I mean that *only the choral songs* were paid for by the patrons, public or private, who



commissioned them from poets, who were contacted not just because they belonged to the community in which the event was taking place, but also because of their established fame. The transformation of the poetic work into something with a marketable value on the basis of the client's requirements, is what, in my opinion, gives poetic activity a professional character.

The origin of this development in ancient Greek poetic culture is to be sought, mainly, in the desire of patrons to have poems produced specifically for their requirements, where traditional forms were insufficient. When an Athenian tribe asked Simonides to compose a dithyramb they were laying claim to victory in the poetic *agon*. It was a good investment to give fame and prestige to that tribe and those who had organized (financially and otherwise) the project.<sup>47</sup> Patrons had a special interest in the added value that came from having an ode bearing their name signed by Bacchylides or Pindar. The less wealthy victors, however – or those who gained victory in the less famous *agons* –, were not denied the honour of the celebration song: a whole repertoire of traditional victory odes could perform, less ostentatiously and originally, the same function as a great victory ode of a known author.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to factors outside the poetic genre (the existence of rich and aristocratic patrons), internal forces encouraged the professionalization of choral poetry more than other lyric genres. These include the strong interest that a performance at a well-attended public event could create, and its consequent circulation; as well as the complexity of the forms and the seamlessness of poetry, dancing, and the highly developed musical accompaniment, as indicated in the triadic scheme. All these characteristics, along with the possibility of transforming the text, at the end of the performance, into a tangible, prestigious object, justified the high cost of a choral ode and made the choral poet an attractive profession.

The practice of composing a choral ode on commission introduced a novelty into the system of poetic communication in the archaic period. This novelty was to some extent explained and justified by the poets themselves: it is no accident that most of the statements about poetic rules in the classical and archaic age related to the choral lyric. Rossi's article on literary genres is founded entirely, for the part concerning the archaic period, on statements taken from choral poets. This is a subject that merits further study. I

believe that in some cases displaying awareness of poetic rules is an implicit eulogy of the qualities of such a costly poetic form, but in other cases a coral poet's meta-poetic statements should be interpreted as a way of giving respectability to a new poetic practice in relation to tradition. The poet seems to have a vested interest in showing that an ode composed for a specific person and a specific occasion ('a poetic monument') is perfectly compatible with the traditional cultural significance of that song. It was a sort of declaration of cultural conformity with preceding tradition, the result of a centuries-long process of suiting texts to the reality of the occasion. Indeed, the development of authorial poetry was not detrimental to traditional poetry, which continued to be practiced throughout antiquity, following the mechanisms of poetic production and circulation typical of oral poetry.<sup>49</sup> The authorial development of some poetic genres should be regarded as either a parallel development to traditional forms, which continued to be practised, or an organic change internal to the genre itself (see the case of tragedy and comedy). The relations between traditional poetry and authorial poetry were not of a conflictual nature:<sup>50</sup> authorial poetry had simply created a space for itself within a broader poetic tradition in response to the demand for poetry from a (fairly restricted) circle of patrons with particularly sophisticated requirements. In the field of the monodic lyric, the peaceful coexistence between traditional poetry and authorial poetry can be noted in one of the best-known poetic *corpora*: sympotic poetry. All poets in the ancient world have been attributed sympotic poems, but, along with authorial poems, there was a rich anonymous repertoire that had been thriving for centuries. Some of these texts flowed into the *corpus* of sympotic authors and ended up being seen as authorial poems, although they were not; in other cases, an authorial poem was 'downgraded' and circulated as anonymous. This manysided process demonstrates that there must have been a constant osmosis between the authorial repertoire and the traditional one.

## **4 Preservation and loss of the traditional heritage**

Let us now try to reconsider the factors determining the

preservation or loss of the texts of the poetic heritage in a civilization that had only writing as a means of preserving poetry.

Firstly, we should note that, for as long as Greek culture was oral/aural and poetry was linked to an occasion, the only factor capable of causing a poetic genre to disappear was the disappearance of the occasion that produced it.

Of course, an oral culture does not merely repeat traditional texts fixed in a certain form. The internal vitality of the process of composition lead poets to produce and update texts and gradually enrich their poetic repertoire. This process may lead to the transformation or replacement of one form with another, or the loss (or weakening) of the memory of an individual text that has been replaced by another more successful one. This process, however, cannot lead to the elimination of a whole typology of texts, because in an oral culture it is the occasion which preserves poetic genres. As long as there is the occasion, texts will be created, performed and heard. When there is no longer the occasion, the texts too will disappear. It seems to me that we can discover this awareness in the verses of Theognis, who associated the memory of the name of Cynus with the tradition of meeting in a symposium and reusing the poetry learnt in preceding ones. With these verses Theognis means that the very life of Theognis' poetry is attached to the existence of the symposium:

Theognis, vv. 237-252

I have given you wings with which you will fly, soaring easily, over the boundless sea and all the land. You will be present at every dinner and feast, lying on the lips of many, and lovely youths accompanied by the clear sounds of pipes will sing of you in orderly fashion with beautiful, clear voices. And whenever you go to Hades' house of wailing, down in the dark earth's depths, never even in death you will lose your fame, but you will be in men's thoughts, your name ever immortal, Cynus, as you roam throughout the land of Greece and among the islands, crossing over the fish-filled, undraining (?) sea, not riding on the backs of horses, but it is the splendid gifts of the violet-wreathed Muses that will escort you. For all who care about their gifts, even for future generations, you will be alike the subject of song, as long as earth and

sun exist.  
(transl. D. E. Gerber)

If this premise is true, for what reason would a living and productive oral culture preserve such texts outside the occasion for which they were composed? Furthermore, as the ancient Greeks only had writing as a means of preserving the texts apart from the mechanisms of oral memory, why were some of these texts set down in writing, allowing us to read them still today?

At least in relation to the poetic texts I have mentioned in this paper, partial written preservation of that poetic culture seems to be the consequence of factors to be explained case by case, genre by genre, and author by author rather than the result of a systematic process. Take, for example, the professionalization of the choral genres. The exceptional nature of these poems saved them from completely disappearing, because those who commissioned them, whether public bodies or private figures, had an interest in preserving a lasting memory of those poetic *agalmata*. The same is not true of the monodic poems. In this case we can say that only the output of a few rare authors was set down in writing, and some of them were also famous for reasons not strictly connected with their poetry: a leading political role, for example (Solon, Alcaeus, Archilochus), particular authority in the field of education (Sappho), or close contact with an environment that had an interest in keeping alive the memory of a prestigious figure (Anacreon, Ibycus). This suggests that, in some cases, there may have been politico-social rather than poetic reasons that determined a sort of monumentalization of a particular author and his work. In any case, even had the whole output attributed to these poets been preserved, it would still have been a tiny fraction of the traditional poetic heritage, which continued to circulate anonymously.

This huge and varied repertoire of texts was set down in writing in only a few sporadic cases, mainly as quotations, specific pieces of information, or allusions in literary works that had other, specific ends. Thus a collection such as the Attic sympotic poems, which likely followed the success of a particular repertoire in a given environment, became a unique case. It may even have been an initiative due to an individual who desired a written collection for personal use, creating the conditions for this collection to endure even when the

occasion was no longer able to protect that repertoire. But this case is exceptional: apart from this collection of sympotic songs, there is no other similar anthology of the many other ancient traditional poetic genres.

We should say, however, that it is not at all surprising that the ancient Greeks were so little concerned with preserving their poetic texts. A systematic collection of traditional poems in the archaic or classical age would have been the death-knell to the vitality of this oral culture.<sup>51</sup> Such a collection would have shown that the traditional poetic heritage was no longer a living and necessary repertoire for an important event, but had become an object of study by people who perceived a distance and a difference between themselves and that tradition. It would have been a clear sign that a separation had taken place between the culture of the educated classes and popular culture, just as when the nineteenth-century folklorists began to collect documents of the popular culture of the various European nations.<sup>52</sup>

That the ancient Greeks were so little concerned about preserving texts is the natural consequence of the primacy of the occasion over the author, and the performance over the text. Even outside the system of lyric texts, if we examine the word which eventually came to indicate the theatrical author, *τραγωδιογράφος*, we find that it is a relatively recent term that appeared only with Polybius (2. 17. 6; 3. 48. 8), while previously the dramatist had been generally referred to by the terms *τραγωδοποιός* (Aristoph. *Th.* 30; Plat. *Crat.* 425d; *Resp.* 408b) and *τραγωδιδάσκαλος* (Aristoph. *Th.* 88; Isoc. 12. 168), which defines the theatrical author not only and not so much as the author of the text to be staged, but as the person responsible for the whole show in all its aspects. The tragedian was therefore a complete theatre man, often an actor and fully aware of the various conventions that go into the show. The author of a tragedy was, essentially, the director of a tragic show. By the same token, at the end of the theatrical *agones* the results were recorded in public documents, but there is no document of the period that suggests that a copy of the text of the plays was deposited in the city archives. Of course, a written copy (or several written copies) of the text must have existed, but they were copies for the exclusive use of those who had to stage the play: the *τραγωδιδάσκαλος* and his actors. Any circulation of theatrical texts outside this circuit should be regarded as casual and linked to the curiosity of individuals with a particular interest

in theatre, who must have asked the authors or actors to be able to read the written text of the play. On the other hand, if reproducing the παλαιὰ δράματα on the stage of the Great Dionysia was only possible after 386 BCE,<sup>53</sup> it follows that before that date – that is to say, throughout the great period of Athenian theatre – the dramatic text was conceived to be performed once only, or for a limited number of performances, in the presence of a large audience. The very fact that a commission – desired by Lycurgus and set up around 330 BCE – had the task of establishing an official edition of the three major Athenian tragedians, demonstrates that before 330 BCE conditions did not exist for the texts of the tragedies of the authors most admired by the Athenians to be untouched by changes made by the theatre men who brought those works back to the stage. This is a clear sign that, at least throughout the fifth century BCE, there was very little concern for the preservation of the integrity of theatrical texts.<sup>54</sup> Nor should we underestimate the fact that Lycurgus' initiative concerned only the three authors who were in the process of being canonized at early date, as we can see clearly from Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Had this early canonization not occurred, the three greatest tragedians might have suffered the same fate as the forty-nine other tragic writers of the fifth century: without the kind of monumentalization the three major writers enjoyed, the survival of the latter's works was guaranteed only by copies that were accidentally circulating among theatre people and that were later collected by the Alexandrians. Thus, even for a public genre that received the greatest attention from the highest institutions of the city, concern to preserve the poetic text came well behind that of guaranteeing the actual continuation of the theatrical festival each year.

Perhaps now, after this long preamble, it will be easier to understand what it means to study the submerged dimension of poetry in the archaic and classical age. It is the study of a whole system of poetic communication that had at its disposal an enormous and outstandingly important heritage of expression. Only traces of this poetic heritage have remained because the very culture that produced it was not concerned with preserving it except sporadically and accidentally, since the main factor that preserved a poetic genre throughout the classical age was the occasion of performance.

Therefore, our main aim in examining submerged literature should be to bring out as much as possible of that poetic

heritage, obtaining information from every possible source:

1. literary works of later periods that cite some texts or give some information on individual texts or poetic genres;
2. archaeological and iconographic sources that can be connected to poetic performances;
3. anthropological and ethnographic research, particularly for those poetic forms that are markedly ritual in character.

Above all, we should expect notable results from renewed study of texts that have been preserved in the light of the awareness that those texts were part of a system of poetic communication, in which their specific function was no different from that of the texts of submerged poetry. Once freed of the modern dictatorship of the author and the fixed written text, preserved poetic texts become, in the perspective of submerged literature, valuable fragments of a cultural event that we should try to reconstruct in all its integrity.

# The Canon and Its Boundaries

## 1 Preliminary remarks

The dynamics of submersion in ancient Greek literature may be better understood by investigating the institutions that presided over cultural policy and contributed to determine the fortunes of authors and texts, selecting some and causing several others to become marginalized. Foremost stood the schools of grammar and rhetoric, whose selections and evaluations of texts were formalized into literary canons at a very early stage.

Formally regarded, a canon is a list. There are instances of closed lists, sanctioned by religious authority and immutable, such as the biblical canons of the Jewish and Christian traditions; there are also open lists, such as the literary canons of antiquity.<sup>55</sup> An open canon may expand<sup>56</sup> (e.g. by the accession of more recent authors), or equally narrow to the few exemplary texts that are deemed irreplaceable. Canons that are not informed by the requirements of liturgy and a presiding religious authority, and are instead the emanation of different schools, each with their ends and criteria, may compete, as occurred with the literary canons of antiquity.

Although canons may be established for several reasons, the selective approach to texts correlates highly with times of historical crisis. In Jewish history, for instance, the institution of the so-called canon of Jamnia, in ca. 95 CE, followed the destruction of Jerusalem by only a few years. The earliest Greek canon not to have been motivated by the need to preserve texts for performance is the triad of Attic tragedians, first attested in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. The comedy was performed in 405 BCE, at a time in which Athens, worn by thirty years of warfare, was on the verge of succumbing to Sparta. As well as providing a record of that crisis, *Frogs* reads as an attempt to move beyond it.

Ian Gorak<sup>57</sup> has observed that the concept of literary canon,



discovered (or better, *re-discovered*) by Ruhnken in 1768,<sup>58</sup> tends to surface in periods of unrest, in which the cultural survival of a society is perceived to be under threat, and the status of the institutions presiding over cultural policy becomes uncertain, calling into question the principles of critical evaluation and selection. Gorak has also clarified that critical norms and lists of exemplary authors constitute separate canons, belonging to distinct orders, and yet interacting with each other. The canon of authors, that is, descends from the canon of criticism; or, in other words, selective criteria are governed by evaluative principles. Being a rational enterprise, Gorak continues, criticism has to rely on *canons*, in the sense of critical norms and criteria. As criticism further proceeds to operate selectively, it eventually comes to require a *canon*, which is to say the selection of authors who answer the requirements of criticism and who become the standard of their own accomplishment.

Literary canons act as a powerful filter, conditioning the perception we have of the literatures of antiquity. At the same time, canons are selections and representations of literature as it ought to be. In this regard, canons are descriptive and normative at once. Literary histories are implicitly based on canons, and rank authors as greater (those who are canonical) and lesser (who are extra-canonical, for the most part, or take a secondary part in the canon). Whatever is left out of the canons eventually becomes marginalized.

In the light of these considerations, we can better understand the relation between literary canons and classicism, in the various forms it has assumed in Western cultural history. It is purely coincidental, though an inspiring coincidence, that David Ruhnken should have published his *Historia critica oratorum Graecorum* in the very year Winckelmann was killed at Trieste. The times of canon formation have often also been the times of emergence of classicist tendencies, starting with the so-called Augustan classicism in the first century CE. A consideration of canons, and whatever canons exclude, invariably leads to a reconsideration of what is meant by 'classic', and, therefore, by 'classicism'.<sup>59</sup>

I do not wish to attempt an overview of the literary canons of antiquity:<sup>60</sup> what I propose to examine, rather, are some of the effects of canons on the literary space, on literary genres and models, with special reference to the dynamics of marginalization and to the influence of canons on the

selection of literary genres, authors, and works.

## 2 Prehistory of the canons

In ancient Greece, the work of selecting a set of genres and texts at the expense of others began, we might say, at the time of the earliest oral literary performances. The genres that were admitted to the courts, festivals, and *agones*, were also automatically ranked above all others.<sup>61</sup> It thus came to be, for instance, that the epic poetry rose above the diverse production of folk-song. When a text is committed to writing by the will of a political authority, as occurred at Athens with the transcription of the Trojan epic commissioned by Pisistratus,<sup>62</sup> the selection of that text becomes an important factor in its conservation. I propose to identify this mechanism as a *performative canon*.<sup>63</sup> We might say that, in the context of the sixth century BCE, when a text was committed to writing it had, by that very fact, been canonized. Conversely, the *corpora* that were formed through usage, independently of any intent to publish (e.g., *corpus Theognideum*, oracular *corpora*, *carmina convivalia*) had no canonical status *per se*; *a fortiori*, everything that remained outside the *corpus* was marginalized and at risk of becoming lost. From this angle, we may regard the *corpora* as involuntary canons – as the by-products of a communications circuit which was aural in its essence, and reserved the more stable form of transmission (represented by writing) only to certain texts.

Some remarks are in order concerning the literary system of societies in which communication is exclusively, or prevalently, oral or aural. The fact that in such societies the value of texts is determined by means of collective sanction does not rule out the institution of hierarchies and of a system of values; nor is it to be ruled out that certain circles (the aristocracy, for instance) should have specific predilections and operate further selections accordingly. We must be on guard from assuming that face-to-face societies represent an undifferentiated whole, producing collective events which in turn rank equally in the perception of the public. Undoubtedly, there is a greater degree of socio-cultural uniformity in such societies, but any differentiation will also entail a hierarchy of values, and generate niches of production and fruition. These considerations bear heavily on our theme: the more homogenous a society, we might say, the more limited will be

the phenomenon of literary submersion. In a society that were wholly *face-to-face*, the degree of submersion would be zero. Conversely, as a society diversifies, a growing number of genres and texts comes to be selected while others are marginalized and submerged. We may wonder whether any society of ancient Greece ever conformed entirely to the characteristics of a *face-to-face* society, especially after the introduction of alphabetic writing: it is more likely, however, that such a model only pertains to small communities, where social differentiation is minimal.

In order to define the space of submerged genres and texts, we have to refer to its negative correlate, namely the protective action of political institutions. When a city takes positive steps in organizing festivals and *agones*, its authorities are *de facto* implementing organized and controlled forms of selection. The dramatic *agones*, for instance, ensured that only certain authors and texts were performed on stage.<sup>64</sup> Dramatic *agones* canonized a set of genres (tragedy, satyr play, and comedy) and helped identify the authors of greatest significance. The latter were often, though not necessarily, the same as those who obtained the greater number of victories: we should give more thought to the instance of Euripides, a highly popular author who rarely came out the winner at the *agones*, and investigate the mechanism whereby the victory of an author or text at the *agones* could be determined independently of their popularity and broad circulation. The *agones* did not determine texts to be monumentalized (it is uncertain whether the copies of competing or winning dramas were deposited), although it was certainly more likely that successful works would be performed again (e.g. at minor *agones*), read, and newly employed (at symposia, for instance).

The involvement of the city institutions in the conservation of certain texts for the sake of their preservation and for consultation is attested by an episode in Herodot. 7. 6. 3: Onomacritus, defined χρησμολόγος τε καὶ διαθέτης χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου, was caught by Lasus of Hermione in the act of surreptitiously inserting an oracle in the collection ascribed to Musaeus and so was exiled by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus. One of our reasons for regarding this story as significant is its chronological proximity to the so-called Pisistratean redaction of the Trojan epic, which sources credit to Hipparchus himself; it also documents, at a relatively early date, how the matter of textual integrity was held in consideration. We are dealing

here with a text of particular importance, since the religious connotation of the oracles provided the grounds for political action. At the same time, the political valence of the poets, and of Homer especially, is not to be ignored. We may conclude that in the latter half of the sixth century BCE the transition was in place towards regarding texts as entities with exact boundaries and an inalterable form determined by its author.

### 3 The schools and their texts

In the Hellenistic age, much of the impulse towards the canonization of texts came from the schools, whose choice of reading for pupils was decisive in generating consensus around a selection of genres, authors, and texts. Literary texts, it is important to note, formed the core of the curriculum at all levels of education and every type of school. Grammarians would teach the Greek of Homer; rhetoricians based their teaching on exemplary orations (their own, or composed by others); philosophers took their cue from poetry, as testified in the central scene of Plato's *Protagoras*, in which Hippias, Prodicus, Socrates, and Protagoras himself discuss the exegesis of a poem by Simonides. *Protagoras* (325e-326a) also provides information of a more general order: teachers instructed their pupils to read and learn the works of exemplary poets, wherein they would find the admonishments, tales, praise, and *encomia* of the ancient ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, in order to encourage imitation. The anthologization of texts was soon to follow, as testified by Plat. *Leg.* 811a, by Isocrates' *Antidosis* (in fact, the earliest known attempt at self-anthologization),<sup>65</sup> and Lycurgus' thematic selection of texts in *Against Leocrates*.

It is in the nature of schools of rhetoric to institute canons. Isocrates canonized his own works (the sole texts he would use in teaching, as far as we know), and so contributed to their promotion.<sup>66</sup> Other teachers based themselves on the works of others, as in the instance of the nameless sophists whom Isocrates criticized in *Panathenaicus* (16 f.) for using his own writings as models, reading them against their own, and proposing incorrect divisions. The same holds for the speeches by Lysias and attributed to him, that form a *corpus* shaped by the schools of rhetoric. In this instance, the object of canonisation is an author, whose name attracted the works

of other anonymous orators within its own orbit, and was eventually superimposed upon them.<sup>67</sup>

The influence of school masters could determine the reputation of a work, and even promote the study and circulation of recent, or indeed living, authors: alongside Lysias, who was precociously studied at Athens by aspiring rhetoricians, we also have the instance of Vergil and the other poets celebrated in Rome by Caecilius Epirota. Suetonius, in *De grammaticis* (16. 3), provides the testimony that *primus dicitur Latine ex tempore disputasse primusque Vergilium et alios poetas novos praelegere coepisse*.

On the subject of the conservation of texts, it is safe to say that when a work was ascribed to an authoritative and undisputed master, was committed to writing at an early stage, and was first circulated under the control of the author and of his school, not only did it have greater chances of being transmitted to successive epochs; but it was also better guaranteed, initially, at least, against falsification and interpolation.<sup>68</sup> Perfect examples of this are those of Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle. The latter two left a composite bequest to their heirs, including their books, as testified by Diogenes Laertius (3. 5 and 4. 19: buildings belonging to Plato and his school; 5. 52 and 5. 62: Peripatos) and Strabo (10. 1. 54 f.: Aristotle). The instance of Demosthenes is slightly different, in so far as the *corpus* of his works was formed at his own library (which also included the orations of collaborators and adversaries) through the offices of his nephew Demochares. Quite at the opposite end, as we have seen, the *corpus* of Lysias took shape on booksellers' stalls and prodigally embraced several anepigraphic orations.

Beyond selecting genres, authors, and individual works, the schools of rhetoric promoted other forms of canonization. The schools canonized certain ages, a phenomenon of great import in the history of education. The ancient Greeks, and the Athenians especially, realized at a relatively early stage that the age of their greatest glory had come to an end when the Hellenistic monarchies were instituted. Lycurgus' decision to monumentalize the texts of the three tragedians, and to erect statues in their honour, is nostalgic in its essence – an attempt to set down for all times a glorious past, perceiving it as concluded. The campaigns of Alexander the Great and the institution of the Hellenistic monarchies produced a rift which signified not so much the advent of something new, as the end of an era. Like other crucial moments in ancient Greek

history, notably the Trojan war, the period extending from the Persian wars to the rise of Alexander was to become a subject for recollection and reevocation, a source of *exempla* and declamatory themes. In this domain too, we may identify themes which remained in constant favour, next to others which became submerged and are only sparsely attested.<sup>69</sup> The canonization of the age of the ancient Greek history we have come to regard as the 'classical' age produced two collateral effects. Firstly, it ushered the canonization of the historians who narrated it: Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon most eminently (with certain others in a subsidiary role). Secondly, it crystallized an especially felicitous season for eloquence, with the Attic orators from the last quarter of the fifth century to the end of the fourth.<sup>70</sup>

## 4 Libraries and canons

According to our sources (especially Quint. 10. 1. 54 and 59) the compilation of the earliest canons was the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace. Committed though they were to identifying the champions for each genre, their names have also come to be associated with what would appear quite the contrary occupation. Both, that is, were librarians at Alexandria – an institution rather committed to comprehensiveness than selectivity. Although, from our perspective gathering the greatest possible number of texts and selecting the best appear quite obviously related (a comprehensive view of the field being the pre-condition for selection), this was far being an obvious notion in Graeco-Roman antiquity. The tremendous wealth of texts gathered from the most disparate regions of the Greek world must have produced a disorienting effect upon Alexandrian librarians, and inspired the anxiety to establish some principle of selection that would provide a reliable guide to students. Alongside other institutions (in the broadest possible sense of the word), canons had become the instrument for the construction of a Greek identity in a globalized world. Wilamowitz<sup>71</sup> surmised that the canons were established on the grounds of the catalogues of authors who had been preserved in the several genres, but his supposition fails to convince: the distinction between an *index ex bibliotheca sumptus* and the selection of models was already apparent to Quintilian. The difference lies in the diversity of their

functions.

Like all devices connected with education,<sup>72</sup> canons tend to look backwards into the past, where consolidated and shared values lie. Quintilian attests that, 10. 1. 54, *Aristarchus atque Aristophanes, poetarum iudices, neminem sui temporis in numerum redegerunt*. The frame of reference for the canons of antiquity lay not in the present. In his assessment of the young literary tradition of Latin letters, Quintilian drew a line at living authors whom he excluded from his discussion other than by way of allusion (10. 1. 94; 10. 1. 104; 10. 1. 122).<sup>73</sup> Although I do not especially address this issue, it should be mentioned that the notion of the necessity of distance has posed a special problem for latter-day critics, namely whether it is at all possible or legitimate to canonize contemporary authors. The problem stems from the radical differences in literary criticism as practised in antiquity and in contemporary times: presentday criticism frequently takes a stance of critical militancy – a feature which often results (partly as a reflection of the literary system and of the publishing market) not just in the canonization of authors, but of critics too. The debate around Harold Bloom and his *Western Canon* is emblematic:<sup>74</sup> what has actually been canonized (indeed, has been self-canonized) are the critic's idiosyncrasies and intellectual biography, against competing idiosyncrasies and intellectual biographies.

Aristophanes and Aristarchus were grammarians whose prevailing (though by no means exclusive) interests lay in the correctness of language. Rhetoricians, on the other hand, were mainly concerned with what models of oratory they should present to their pupils. Quite naturally, the domains of the two disciplines overlapped at several points, from the issues of *lexis*, style, down to the *progymnasmata*, the preliminary exercises in composition.<sup>75</sup> What deserves emphasis is that, in spite of the partial differences in purpose and in the mix of texts from which to teach their pupils, grammarians and rhetoricians ultimately referred to the same grid of literary genres and, with some inevitable difference, authors. Canons evolved as the tastes and didactic purposes of grammarians and rhetoricians also varied. The age of greatest canonical instability was probably that of Augustan classicism, between the first century BCE and the first century CE, as lively debates arose in the domains of grammar (analogy vs. anomaly) and rhetoric (imitation of the historians, particularly Thucydides).

Only in Imperial Rome, and even more so in late antiquity, did canons suffer the opposite fates of either contracting into very brief lists of exemplary authors, or of expanding to the point of merely becoming catalogues of names, displays of erudition with no educational ends, comparable to those of the *protoi heuretai*.<sup>76</sup> It is in this manner that the canons became a schematic form of literary historiography.

## **5 Canon boundaries and the literary system**

The history of canon development runs alongside (or better, follows closely in the steps of) literary history and the evolution of taste and interests. Our investigation therefore has to proceed diachronically into the modes and conditions of literary communication over the ages, and addresses the modes of publication and textual reception as objects of inquiry. This involves examining the relation of authors to their audience, the general conditions of communication in their inter-relation with social and political change, and the function a work might assume in a given context. Secondly, we need to consider the reception of individual works, and determine both how the favourable reception of a work varied in time, and by what means favourable reception acted as a safeguard. Thirdly, we need to attempt a census of literary production and trace the inclusion and exclusion of works from canons. Ranging over factors of taste and preference, as well as the inclusion or exclusion of works from canons across the ages, the inquiry has to be conducted on four levels:

1. literary genres;
2. individual authors;
3. individual works;
4. the parts of a work that met with especial favour.

The third and fourth level, naturally, have to do with a history of taste and changing preferences, not with the composition of the canons.

Genres, to begin with, stand in a reciprocal relation to canons, in the sense that if canons are established on the grounds of a grid of approved genres, they conversely contribute to bolster that grid. Starting our inquiry with the fifth century BCE, in which Aristophanes' *Frogs* represents the first attestation of a canon that is not performative (as were



the political editions of the epic poetry), but evaluative, we are able to see that alongside the epic poetry, which had been canonical since its origins, stood drama, and tragedy especially. Lyric poetry continued to be practised and appreciated, but was clearly on the wane, gradually replaced in its functions by other genres. Fifth-century communication was mostly aural, although writing became established in its final decades. The advancement of writing is mainly to be related to prose and the communication of technical information. At the same time, however, a transformation was occurring in the study of poetry: poetic performances ceased to be a strictly public affair and became the private engagement of small groups and individuals. Authors (prose-writers especially) began to make provisions for this development in their works: Thucydides is exemplary in refusing the facile success of public recitation and proposing his work as a permanent acquisition (1. 22. 4). The major break in the conditions of communication can be dated approximately to the end of the fifth and early fourth century. Epic, lyric, and drama were thereafter to remain the chief genres of poetic production until, at least, Hegel proposed his own classification. Prose genres came to be defined only over the course of the fourth century, and were canonized later still. In the domain of historiography, Herodotus and Thucydides soon became established as paradigmatic models, as shown by the several continuators of Thucydides (Xenophon, Theopompus, Cratippus) and the epitome of Herodotus composed by Theopompus. The domains of oratory and philosophy, on the other hand, were governed by greater instability. The inquiry ought to be further extended into subgenres and cognate genres, such as regional historiography, genealogies, etc. None of the latter genres, at any rate, was ever admitted into the canon of ancient Greek historians.<sup>77</sup>

From the third century BCE we find that the grid of genres becomes relatively stable: it is entirely probable that alongside the canon of iambic poets (the only canon to have a clearly attested origin, with Aristarchus (Quint. 10. 1. 59)), there were also Alexandrian canons for epic and lyric poetry, tragedy, comedy, historiography, and oratory. The canon of elegiac poets, attested in Quint. 10. 1. 58 and inclusive of Philitas of Cos and Callimachus, certainly originated later, since it does not observe the principle of the exclusion of contemporary authors (Quint. 10. 1. 54, cited above). It is far

from easy to date the first compilation of a canon of philosophers, although we do know that Aristophanes of Byzantium ordered the Platonic *corpus* into trilogies.

On the level of individual authors, the first to be canonized were great archaic epic poets, Homer and Hesiod, who already stood above all others in Herodotus 2. 53. It is apparent from *Frogs* (405 BCE) that the canonization of the three great tragedians was by then quite consolidated, and must have come earlier than the first canons of lyric, comic, and iambic poets. It is not our aim to analyse the individual fortunes of the authors in each canon. What interests us is that although there are differences in the canons of authors drawn up by grammarians and rhetoricians, the literary system outlined by the canons is relatively stable: it is a system crystallized and determined once and for all by the school, compounded by a precocious vein of classicism, and bolstered by the Roman ideology of the oneness of the two cultures – Greek and Roman. This ideology is expressed in the canon set out by Quintilian in book 10.<sup>78</sup>

On the level of individual works we can note that not even the existence of a canon sufficed to protect all of the works by even the most important authors. Of the several works attributed to Homer, for instance, textual critics confirmed the authenticity of only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (see, for an early example, Herodot. 2. 117). Interest in the cycle diminished as tragedy, which drew on the archaic epics for subject matter, eventually took over, and as negative aesthetic appraisals, such as Aristotle's, were formulated against it. As for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, their pre-eminence reflects not only their value as foundational texts,<sup>79</sup> but also a factor we are unable to verify, namely the decisions of fifth and fourth century grammarians. Whereas, for the later centuries, papyri sources at least provide an outline of the more macroscopic phenomena, for the fifth century we can surmise the preferential status of the major poems, reflected in the greater number of papyri by which they were transmitted.

On the level of parts of works, we are able to draw significant information from papyrus sources and from references contained in the works of grammarians and rhetoricians. We know that, in the instance of Thucydides, his first books were the most read; individual books by Polybius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, instead, were accorded greater or lesser favour on account of their subject matter. In some instances, excerpts from certain works would be

anthologized into collections, as exemplified by the speeches found inside historiographic works, as in Sallust's *Historiae*, or selective epitomes, such as the *excerpta Constantiniana*.

We might ask, at this point, to what extent canons contribute in defining the literary system. To answer the question we need first to distinguish the literary *system* (which has institutional counterparts at several levels: from the city institutions to the schools) from the literary *space* (a broader concept, inclusive also of non-canonical works, works that have suffered censorship, works that have been marginalized with intent). Canons act upon the definition and boundaries of the literary system, primarily; with regard to the internal dynamics of the literary space, canons trace a further boundary within that space, so that the selected genres and authors come to be isolated from those which are deemed extraneous to the literary system in some degree.

The problem, crucially, lies in being able to understand what is perceived as extraneous to the literary system at a given age. The archaic age saw no need to define 'the literary' as such because the locus of communication was the social occasions of performance, so that the literary system was largely coextensive with the literary space. Outside of the literary system stood forms from socially marginal domains, such as the popular verse of tradesmen and children. As societies became internally diversified, the area of overlap between the literary space and the literary system contracted. The gap between genres and fruition brought about by the emergence of prose writings and the drift from aural to written communication, had, among other things, significant bearings on the relation between what is acknowledged as literature (and as such is granted institutional protection, by the system of education especially) and the mass of production which ended up being regarded as external to the literary system in some way. It is not a coincidence that a definition for 'the literary' should have emerged in this phase.<sup>80</sup> Simplifying considerably, we may say that no canons other than the performative are attested in the oral and aural phase, and that evaluative canons emerged as the association of literary communication and writing became established, and literature became the object of self-conscious theorization.

By favouring only certain genres and only a certain number of authors, the canons were instrumental in marginalizing the greater part of ancient Greek literary production (in the

broadest sense of 'literary'), and are to be regarded as a factor both of conservation and loss. We need to inquire more fully into the function played by canons: assess their impact on literary production and establish in what measure they determined the institution of evaluative categories and classification grids. We also need to assess the social impact of canons, evaluate the range of their influence on the social body, understand in what way they could factually determine the success of certain genres, authors, works at the expense of others. A complex relation thus holds between canons and the marginalization of the literature we have called 'submerged'. It is a relation that calls other factors into question and cannot be settled without reference to yet another set of issues, namely the conditions for the conservation of texts. We have said that whatever failed to be canonized was almost invariably marginalized; we cannot, at the same time, identify submersion with the class of works that were lost.<sup>81</sup> There is no necessary correlation between canonization and conservation, so that not all non-canonical works were lost, and not all canonical works were preserved. In order to understand the role played by canons in defining the literary system we need to better appreciate the development and workings of education systems in antiquity, and also form a clearer picture of the dynamics of literary fortunes and textual traditions.

# Beyond the Canon: Hellenistic Scholars and Their Texts

## 1 Scholars, authors and genres

In this paper, I wish to make some considerations on the role Hellenistic philologists played in determining the set and textual shape of the Greek literary texts which have come down to us; in particular, I wish to comment on their choice of authors and genres reserved for study and transmission to the generations of readers and scholars that followed. In the second part of this paper I also intend to show that some of the texts which belonged to the 'submerged' or 'underground' genres of antiquity (in so far as they were not regarded to be of primary scholarly interest) sporadically resurface in the form of quotations in erudite works dealing with major authors, as well as in miscellaneous compilations.

The term 'genre' in itself, if we look back to the early stages of Greek literary production, is liable to engender misunderstandings to the extent that we apply to an archaic culture, still predominantly *oral* and *aural* than literate, the conventions of a later society in which the written word prevailed. For the sake of clarity, I shall be using the term 'genre' in the sense codified for Greek literature by Aristotle and that has been in use ever since.<sup>82</sup>

Overviews of the work of Hellenistic philologists, such as the well-known *History of Classical Scholarship* published by Rudolf Pfeiffer in 1968, or the more recent contribution by Franco Montanari (in the collective work *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, 1993), will immediately show that a large part of the editorial and exegetical work of the major philologists of antiquity dealt with a relatively small number of authors, whose works were representative of a small set of genres. These were, initially, epic poetry, lyric poetry, iambic poetry, and drama; history was admitted later, and oratory later still.

Within the limits of the available evidence, the following

table presents the scholarly work of the most important Hellenistic grammarians ordered by genre (for more details on specific authors, see below, § 3).<sup>83</sup>

### Genres Studied by the Major Hellenistic Scholars

|                                        | epic | lyric | iambus | comedy | tragedy | historiography | philosophy | oratory |
|----------------------------------------|------|-------|--------|--------|---------|----------------|------------|---------|
| Zenodotus (IV–III BCE)                 | ●    | ●?    |        |        |         |                |            |         |
| Eratosthenes (III–II BCE)              | ●    |       |        | ●      |         |                |            |         |
| Aristophanes of Byzantium (III–II BCE) | ●    | ●     | ●      | ●      | ●       |                | ●?         |         |
| Aristarchus (II BCE)                   | ●    | ●     | ●      | ●      | ●       | ●              | ●?         |         |
| Crates of Mallus (II BCE)              | ●    | ●?    |        | ●?     | ●?      |                |            |         |
| Apollodorus of Athens (II BCE)         | ●    |       |        | ●      |         |                |            |         |
| Didymus (I BCE)                        | ●    | ●     |        | ●      | ●       | ●              |            | ●       |

In the table I did not discriminate between editions of texts (ἐκδόσεις, διορθώσεις), commentaries (ὑπομνήματα), and the so-called Περί-Literatur, which comprises monographs on particular problems, works or authors. In fact, as our sources tend to omit the titles of works, it is often impossible, from the short fragments we possess, to decide whether the discussion of a particular passage belonged, for instance, to a commentary or to a monograph.

The table, we should bear in mind, does not take into account other types of works, such as the collections of *lexeis*, proverbs, and works on non-literary texts, which we shall discuss later. It is evident, in any case, that the works of ancient grammarians focused on a limited number of genres, and, within these genres, on a limited number of authors. The authors were Homer (understood as the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*);<sup>84</sup> Hesiod (*Theogony* and *Works and Days*); the nine lyrical poets; Archilochus; the three major tragedians, and finally, among the comedians, Aristophanes.

We have less information regarding prose writers, who undoubtedly received much less attention than the poets, although we do have a papyrus with the fragment of a commentary by Aristarchus on Herodotus (PAmh, II, 12).<sup>85</sup> From a passage in Didymus, whose works were based on the writings of earlier interpreters, we can infer with some certainty that Aristarchus had written a commentary on

Thucydides as well.<sup>86</sup> Something of which we can be certain, moreover, is that commentaries on Demosthenes were written before Didymus, who explicitly refers to them in his monograph on Demosthenes, preserved in a Berlin papyrus.<sup>87</sup>

In spite of the fact that the list in Callimachus' *Pinakes* included a wealth of authors and works, apparently only a fraction of them was the object of editorial and exegetical work in Hellenistic times. The Alexandrian library, we may infer, must have possessed a treasury of texts which were read, but not commented on. This selection process cannot have been fortuitous, and quite certainly the role of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus was decisive in this regard. The term that was later used to refer to this process of selection is ἐγκρίνειν: the selected authors were called ἐγκριθέντες; their works would be commented on (πράττειν), and would then accordingly be called πραττόμενοι. As their writings were copied for reading in schools and for the benefit of educated readers, all other works came to be forgotten in due time.<sup>88</sup>

## 2 Pre-Alexandrian scholars and their texts

In order to better understand the work of Hellenistic scholars in its historical context, it will be useful to ascertain whether their choice of authors can be explained through the influence of an earlier tradition of studies.

The earliest representative of philology and literary exegesis of whom we know is Theagenes of Rhegium, who lived in the last quarter of the sixth century BCE. His commentaries were concerned with the Homeric poems, which is not surprising, in the light of the fact that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were to be the principal object of study and interest over the whole course of Greek cultural history. A similar interest extended to epic poetry in general, and to Hesiod in particular: Xenophanes of Colophon, for instance, who was a contemporary of Theagenes', attacked both Hesiod's and Homer's representations of the behaviour of the traditional gods. It is probably in response to such criticism that Theagenes used allegorical exegesis to defend episodes in the epics, such as the battle of the gods in the *Iliad*, that could be accused of representing the gods in a manner not in keeping with the expectations of a sixth-century audience.<sup>89</sup>

More than a century later, in Plato's *Ion*, the rhapsode Ion

boasts about the interpretations of Homer he is able to offer to his audience, and Socrates asks him if he is able to explain not only Homer, but Hesiod and Archilochus as well.<sup>90</sup> The passage, I would argue, provides valuable clues as to what texts were central to the interests of Greek exegetes of the time. As for Homer, his presence in school teaching in Athens is plainly attested in a well-known fragment of Aristophanes' *Banqueters*, in which the father tests his son's knowledge by asking him about a series of rare Homeric expressions (fr. 233 K.- A.).

Already in the fifth century, therefore, we find evidence of a set of authors and genres of the past that are universally known. To the authors already named we should add the three major tragedians, already canonized, so to speak, in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, where they are singled out as forming a separate group, distinct from all other playwrights.<sup>91</sup> Evidence from vase paintings of the fifth and fourth century BCE points in the same direction: the majority of tragedy-related vase illustrations found in the Greek West depicts scenes from the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.<sup>92</sup>

In Athens, Aeschylus' exceptional status had been sanctioned by decree with an act which promoted reprises of his plays – it provided a chorus to all those Athenians who wanted to stage his texts again, clearly in view of their patriotic content.<sup>93</sup> In the fourth century, when Heraclides Ponticus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, wrote a treatise *On the three tragedians*, he no longer even needed name the three authors in the title (Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγωδοποιῶν, fr. 179 Wehrli, with the comm. on p. 123).

The work of Aristotle doubtlessly exercised great influence on the process of selection and canonization of the texts of the past. With regard to Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were definitively singled out among the epic production after Aristotle first argued, in the *Poetics*, that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* surpassed all other epic poems in style and content.<sup>94</sup> His judgement that the two poems were to be set apart from all remaining hexameter poetry became standard in the following centuries.<sup>95</sup>

The discussion of tragedy in the *Poetics* makes it clear that the three tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, had already gained special status over all other authors of tragedies, as the number of quotations from their plays clearly shows.<sup>96</sup> Let us be reminded that it was a friend of Aristotle, the Athenian statesman Lycurgus, who established



that the city should erect bronze statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and made arrangements for the creation of an official copy of their tragedies ([Plut.], *Lives of the Ten Orators* 841 f).<sup>97</sup> Lycurgus himself, interestingly, later became part of another canon, that of the ten Attic orators. Among the titles of the lost works of Aristotle, besides the *Homeric Questions*, of which a number of fragments are extant, we find writings on Hesiod, and on Archilochus, Euripides and Choerilus.<sup>98</sup>

If we go through the extant titles of the works of the pupils of Aristotle, we find that most of them deal with authors and genres we have come to regard as canonical: Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, the three tragedians (the contents of the plays of Sophocles and Euripides are the topic of a number of works by Aristotle's pupil Heraclides Ponticus).<sup>99</sup> Dicaearchus wrote on the contents of the plays of Euripides and Sophocles, on competitions at Dionysian festivals (fr. 73–89 W.), and possibly on Alcaeus (fr. 99 W.).<sup>100</sup> Aristoxenus wrote on tragedy, on tragic dancing, and on Telestes, author of dithyrambs (end of the fifth century BCE, see *PMG* 805–812).

Chamaeleon wrote on Homer, Hesiod, Sappho, Stesichorus, Pindar, Simonides, Anacreon, Aeschylus, and also on the tragedian Thespis and the melic poet of the second half of the sixth century BCE Lasus of Hermione, who was influential in musical theory (his poetic fragments are collected in *PMG* fr. 702–706 Page); he also authored general works on satyr drama and on comedy. His contemporary Praxiphanes of Mytilene commented on Homer, possibly also on Hesiod and Sophocles, and had an interest in poetics (see fr. 8–23 Wehrli).<sup>101</sup>

Contemporary scholars offer contrasting judgments on the role played by Aristotle and his school in the development of literary studies in Alexandria over the following centuries. Pfeiffer's authoritative survey of ancient literary scholarship, challenging previously held assumptions, assigned little significance to the Aristotelian school in this respect, highlighting the aspects of novelty in Alexandrian literary studies over the elements of continuity with earlier philosophical reflection. However, several aspects of Pfeiffer's assessment were called into question after his book appeared, and, in recent years, scholarly consensus has again placed the stress on the debt of Alexandrian scholarship towards Aristotle and his pupils. To name but one of the most conspicuous instances in support of this view, let us recall

that Demetrius of Phalerum, the pupil of Theophrastus, lived in Alexandria at the time of the first and second Ptolemy. Although we have little record of his activity and contacts there, his presence at the new cultural centre of the Hellenistic world at the time in which the Library and Museum were founded is certainly significant.<sup>102</sup>

The role of Aristotle and his school on the development of Alexandrian scholarship could also be linked to the predominantly Athenocentric perspective of the grammarians who worked at the court of the Ptolemies (and of Hellenistic culture in general); this becomes quite evident when we consider the range of authors who became the object of the best interpretive efforts by Hellenistic scholars.

### **3 The canon in Alexandria and Pergamum**

To sum up my argument so far, it appears that, until the early third century BCE, the foremost object of scholarly interest was epic poetry, followed by iambic poetry, lyric poetry, and drama. It is noteworthy that most of these genres had originally been linked to specific events, and that these events were still celebrated: the local festivals and city celebrations which had constituted the *raison d'être* of these genres in the archaic and classical ages continued throughout the Hellenistic and later the Roman period.<sup>103</sup>

As we move into the Hellenistic age, we find that the production of scholars who operated in the cultural centres of the Hellenistic world becomes more and more significant. The importance acquired by technical literature grew over time, as it circulated among specialists throughout the Greek-speaking world. A new type of written text emerged, containing reflections, observations and remarks of various nature on older literary works; erudite literature, in other words, became a genre in itself (let us just consider, for example, the ὑπομνήματα, that is commentaries). Little of it has been preserved; most of the extant fragments we owe to the fact that ancient literary research ended up as *scholia* – marginal annotations in medieval manuscripts containing the works of archaic and classical authors. The loss of most of the erudite production by Hellenistic scholars should alert us to the fact that they were themselves ‘submerged’, in the sense that they suffered the same fate of gradual selection and disappearance which had taken place with the texts of the

great authors on which they worked.

At this point, we can examine in detail the authors studied by the most renowned philologists of the Hellenistic age. The list that follows includes evidence for editions, commentaries and monographs.<sup>104</sup>

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### **Authors studied by Hellenistic scholars**

**Zenodotus:** Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Anacreon?

**Eratosthenes:** Homer; ancient comedy.

**Aristophanes of Byzantium:** Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Alcman, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Pindar, Aristophanes, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato?, Menander?

**Aristarchus:** Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Alcman, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides?, Ion of Chius, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Thucydides?, Plato?

**Crates of Mallus:** Homer, Hesiod?, Alcman?, Stesichorus?, Pindar?, Euripides?, comedy? Apollodorus of Athens: Homer, Epicharmus, Sophron

**Didymus:** Homer, Hesiod, Alcaeus, Sappho, Anacreon, Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus?, Sophocles, Euripides, Ion of Chius, Achaeus of Eretria?, Cratinus, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Phrynichus (comic poet), Menander, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hypereides, Isaeus, Isocrates?, Dinarchus?, Antiphon?

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The first observation we are able to make is that the range of interests of these scholars is wider, not narrower, than that of their fourth century predecessors: that they worked on all the authors who had been the subject of earlier research, as well as a number of other writers who had not been studied before. This is not unexpected, if we remember that the scholars who worked in the great Hellenistic libraries were the first to have at their disposal collections of books that came from the whole of the Greek-speaking world. If, on the one hand, they focused their attention on a limited number of writers, on the other they also started to work on writers who had previously enjoyed little attention. The range of genres is broader too, as we find, again for the first time, prose works included among the topics of scholarly investigation. As a consequence, it is certainly true that the very context in which the Hellenistic philologists worked, laying at their disposal the largest collections of books in Greek history, speaks in favour of an activity of categorization and selection;<sup>105</sup> it is also true, however, that the copiousness of

the materials at hand must have encouraged them to pursue interests in topics that had previously been disregarded or overlooked.

This said, we also note some conspicuous absences. Elegy, as a genre, does not seem to have been studied in Alexandria; that is, we have no evidence of editions or of commentaries on Greek elegy,<sup>106</sup> although we do have fragments of a book with a critical edition of elegiac poems by Archilochus (in antiquity, his poems had been divided into books according to their metre).<sup>107</sup> Less noticeable, but remarkable, is the Alexandrians' lack of interest in the production of preeminent authors that did not fall within the boundaries of the genre they were famous for: they apparently neglected Sophocles' paean in honour of Asclepius, for example, which in Athens survived for centuries as a religious song; we possess some lines of this poem thanks to an inscription (*PMG* 737). Another example is Euripides' victory ode for Alcibiades, which is not preserved, with the exception of a few lines quoted in Plutarch's *Lives* (*PMG* 755 and 756).<sup>108</sup>

A good example of scholars' widening research interests in Hellenistic times is the Alexandrians' work on Bacchylides, an author who had not apparently raised any interest in the previous centuries. A commentary on his *Dithyrambs* (POxy 2368) mentions the name of Aristarchus, who criticized Callimachus because the latter had classified as paean a composition that, in Aristarchus' opinion, was actually a dithyramb, namely the *Cassandra* (Pfeiffer 1968, 130 = Pfeiffer 1973, 217, and 345 = 222). We know that Didymus later wrote a commentary on the victory odes of Bacchylides.<sup>109</sup>

Aristarchus wrote on Ion of Chius, who was active during the mid fifth century BCE as a tragedian, lyric poet and author of philosophical and erudite works: Athenaeus quotes a note from a work of Aristarchus on Ion's satyr play *Omphale*.<sup>110</sup> It has recently been argued that Aristarchus wrote a commentary on Plato as well (see Schironi 2005), of which some traces are extant in Byzantine lexicæ, and that he might have used to this purpose a text of the dialogues prepared by Aristophanes of Byzantium: we know from Diogenes Laertius that Aristophanes had arranged Plato's writings into trilogies (3. 61-62), and it is quite possible that he also prepared an edition of them.

Apollodorus of Athens is another interesting case. He wrote on the Syracusan comic poet Epicharmus (530-435 ca. BCE),

and we have the title of a monograph, *Περὶ Ἐπιχάρμου*, in at least six books (*FGrHist* 244 F 213); according to Porphyry, he had also prepared an edition of all the writings of Epicharmus in ten books (T 18). Apollodorus also wrote a *Περὶ Σώφρονος* (F 213–218), in at least four books: Sophron was active in Syracuse at the time of Euripides and wrote mimes that were much appreciated by Plato, who was the first to bring them to Athens (Diog. Laert. 3. 18).<sup>111</sup> Attic comedy had been at the centre of the interests of the Alexandrian grammarians since the early third century BCE (see above, § 1); as for Doric comedy, an antiquarian who had contacts with the court of Pergamum, Polemon of Ilium, had paved the way for Apollodorus: Polemon had visited Sicily and was familiar with Doric comedy and with the poetry of Epicharmus, as some fragments of his work *Against Timaeus* show.<sup>112</sup>

The extant titles and fragments of Didymus, who worked at Alexandria in the first century BCE, provide a good summary of the research interests of his predecessors. Didymus is not generally credited with any original research: the value of his work lies in the fact that he collected and handed down the results of the efforts of earlier scholars, and we can be reasonably sure that any topic he treated had been researched by his more outstanding forerunners. If we analyse the list of the titles of his works, we find, together with most of the mainstream authors, a number of not very obvious names. He wrote a commentary on the *Agamemnon* of Ion of Chius (quoted in Athen. 11. 468 *d* = Did. p. 301 f. Schmidt), and apparently also another work on Ion, in which he refuted the tenets of earlier critics.<sup>113</sup> Didymus also commented on the *Cronus*, a comedy by Phrynichus, the fifth-century Athenian comic poet (Athen. 9. 371 *f* = Did. p. 306 f. Schmidt). He certainly commented on a passage of the *Games*, a tragedy by an Athenian poet of the mid fifth century, Achaëus of Eretria, although the quotation in Athenaeus does not make it clear whether Didymus had written a commentary on the entire play (Athen. 15. 689 *b* = Did. p. 305 f. Schmidt).

## 4 Beyond the canon

We should not conclude, in any case, that the scholarly interests of Hellenistic philologists were limited to the authors they edited or commented on. Quite certainly, the range of

their studies was broader. This applies to literary genres as well, as in the case of proverbs: Aristophanes of Byzantium prepared collections of proverbs, both in verse and prose, in connection with his interest in Attic comedy.<sup>114</sup> We know that Didymus wrote a work *Περὶ παροιμιῶν*, that enlarged Aristophanes' collection.<sup>115</sup> It should be noted that in this respect the Alexandrian grammarians followed again the lead of Aristotle and his disciples, who had collected traditional sayings because they regarded them to express the wisdom of the ancients (Pfeiffer 1968, 83 f. = Pfeiffer 1973, 153 f.).

Minor authors, included in the catalogues of the library of Alexandria but evidently not considered worthy of specific editions or commentaries, were nonetheless read and studied; in order to appreciate this fact, we must consider the whole of the production of Hellenistic scholars, and not just their editions, commentaries and monographs. The preparation of collections of *lexeis*, that is, words (archaic or still in use) that were difficult or peculiar for either their form or meaning was an important part of the activity of Hellenistic scholars.<sup>116</sup> The first representatives of this scholarly enterprise had been the sophists of the fifth century BCE, who had a special interest in the study of language. In the Hellenistic age, the most important work of this type were the *Lexeis* of Aristophanes of Byzantium, who had a lasting influence on all his successors. It is self-evident that compilations of this kind provided the opportunity to quote from a virtually unlimited range of authors and texts, offering precious testimony of a wide range of texts that are otherwise lost to us.

This is not the place to examine such an extensive subject in depth. As a particularly significant example of Hellenistic philologists' interest in non-canonical texts, I would like to mention here the fragments of an anonymous collection of glosses that has come down to us thanks to a papyrus roll from Oxyrhynchus (POxy 1802 + 4812), the remains of which have been recently reedited by Francesca Schironi (Schironi 2009a). The glosses listed in the papyrus are illustrated with examples from a number of rare or erudite works, whose authors all date before the first century BCE. Schironi convincingly argues that the original nucleus of this collection probably goes back to the work of the scholars who were active in the Alexandrian library. In all certainty, its compiler had access to one of the large book collections of the Hellenistic age: otherwise it would have been very difficult to collect such an extensive number of quotations from works

that were not easily available. In fact, alongside citations from Homer, Xenophon and Aristotle we find a number of lesser-known authors including Antenor, a second century BCE antiquarian from Crete (*FGrHist* 463); Anticlides, an Athenian historian of the third century BCE (*FGrHist* 140); Dionysius of Utica, who in the first century BCE wrote a work *On Agriculture*; Andron, probably to be identified with the fourth century BCE historian from Halicarnassus (*FGrHist* 10); the Athenian antiquarian Autoclides (*FGrHist* 353, probably third century BCE), and, possibly, Hestiaeus (*FGrHist* 786), author of a work *On Phoenicia* that was used by Josephus.<sup>117</sup> The presence of local historians is particularly remarkable, since writers who dealt with the history of single cities or regions were not included in the canon of Greek historians, which only admitted authors whose perspective was wider and who enjoyed pan-Hellenic stature.<sup>118</sup>

## 5 Hellenistic philology on contemporary poets

The present survey of the role played by Hellenistic scholarship on the transmission of Greek literature has been necessarily of a summary nature; it is obvious that there remains much to be done in a number of different research directions, from investigating the nature and scope of the work carried out by less-studied grammarians, for instance, to a systematic survey of the Hellenistic scholars' interest in minor and contemporary poets. I would like to conclude by adding a few notes on the interest Hellenistic philologists had for contemporary poetry. In 1995 Franco Montanari published a first survey of the evidence we possess regarding early philological activity on Hellenistic texts: we have papyri from the late third/early second century BCE showing that the attention of commentators had already turned to poets who were their contemporaries. A significant example is the papyrus Louvre inv. 7733 verso, from the second century BCE, which contains a commentary on an epigram by unknown author, which certainly, however, originated in the circles of the scholar poets at Alexandria.<sup>119</sup> The commentator displays remarkable erudition, and quotes the parallels of a new Sophocles fragment and of an otherwise unknown comedy by Diphilus.

Moreover, if we look carefully at texts that are already known to us, such as the Homeric scholia, it is apparent that Alexandrian philologists used to quote Hellenistic poets in their commentaries on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: we can surmise from such clues that the study of contemporary authors was in fact already at an advanced stage (see the discussion in Montanari 1995).<sup>120</sup> The interest of the Alexandrians in texts that were near in time to their own period finds a parallel in the activity of the philologists at the library of Pergamum. In the context of his work on the Homeric poems, for instance, Crates of Mallus discussed passages from Aratus' *Phaenomena*.<sup>121</sup> Zenodotus of Mallus, a follower of Crates', interestingly provides an early instance of a *direct* discussion of a line in the *Phaenomena* when he explains the meaning of *Phaen.* 33, where Aratus recalls how, as a baby, Zeus had been hidden in a cave in Crete, 'in sweet-smelling Dicto, near mount Ida' (δίκτω ἐν εὐώδει ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίου, *Phaen.* 33).<sup>122</sup> As for chronologies, the dates for Zenodotus are uncertain; judging from the correlations in their respective works, however, we can presume that he was not much younger than Crates.<sup>123</sup>



# The Trojan War Myth: Rhapsodic Canon and Lyric Alternatives

## 1 The rhapsodic canon

In the investigation of the submerged dimension of the ancient Greek cultural tradition, several complex issues are raised by the epic. Of all traditional genres of poetic composition, the epic undoubtedly enjoyed greatest continuity in time, from the early origins of textual production to late antiquity. It is also the form of poetry which at once reached farthest and was broadcast most uniformly over the fragmented territories of the Hellenic political and cultural world. Measured by the metre of time and space, the epic was the most successful among ancient Greek literary genres: never, in the history of its diversified production, did the epic meet with a lessening of interest among the public; nor did the standing of its socio-political function ever lose eminence against other genres. From this angle, its inclusion within the category of the submerged, in one sense or another, would appear unjustified. It would seem, that is, that the epic constitutes a domain within which several works were *lost*, as opposed to submerged. There are, however, historical grounds for admitting the epic within the latter category: first of all, the epic tradition was the first within which, in all likelihood, the dynamics of selective canonization became operative; secondly, no other poetic genre was so susceptible to the 'Panhellenic vs local' discriminant, whereby, on account of specific features, some poetry was promoted to Panhellenic appreciation, and other poetry was relegated within the confines of its context of production and appreciation.

In a recent study (Sbardella 2012), I believe I have brought arguments of a certain import to bear on the hypothesis that the narrative complex of the Trojan epic cycle (as known to us through fragments and through indirect tradition) was not merely a late construct of erudite scholars (although scholarship could have contributed, *a posteriori*, in defining its

contours). I believe it is possible to prove that the cycle as we know it took shape in the live practice of rhapsodic recitations at a precise place and period, namely the Panathenaea celebrated at Athens under the tyranny, in the three last decades of the sixth century BCE. The outstanding prestige of the cycle came through the activity of the rhapsodes: more precisely, the activity of a specific guild, the Homeridae of Chios.<sup>124</sup> If this interpretation is correct, what we find documented in the sources of antiquity and late-antiquity (albeit in the form of sparse fragments) is only one version of the Trojan epic cycle, not *the* Trojan epic cycle. What has come down to us is the cycle in the 'unitary' form it received at the hands of the guild of the Homeridae, for the purpose of a series of performances which occurred at a given time and on a given occasion. On the strength of the Panhellenic valence of the setting (a reflection of the prestige and propagandistic valence of Athens during the tyranny), the version of the cycle performed at the Panathenaea imposed itself as the canonical form – quite possibly the first real poetic canon in Greek literature.<sup>125</sup>

We cannot rule out the existence of other versions of the Trojan cycle before and/or around that time, and we shall come to this possibility shortly. First, we need to address an obvious difficulty attending the notion that the cycle received canonical sanction in the unitary version of the Homeridae: if the other poems in the cycle (*Cypria*, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis*, *Nostoi*, *Telegony*) enjoyed their moment of eminence in the historical period just specified and received equal sanction to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* under the common label of 'Homeric poetry' and by virtue of common aesthetic standards, how did it come to pass that at some later time in the tradition they should become divorced from the two Homeric poems *par excellence* and suffer an opposite fate? The answer, I believe, lies in a change in the general circumstances of rhapsodic performances; it also lies in a transformation in the modes of reception of the epic heritage during the transition from the archaic to the classical age which was driven at least by the higher social strata. This transformation entailed that only over the fifth and fourth centuries did certain distinctions come to apply, which would not have made any sense as late as the latter half of the sixth century. A severe compression of the 'Homeric' canon ensued, leading to separate outcomes in the transmission of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, on the one hand, and of the other cycle poems

on the other.<sup>126</sup>

The institution of a canon through the winning offices of one guild of rhapsodes at the grand Panhellenic marketplace of epic poetry, and the contraction of that same canon at a later time translated into a selective process that occurred in two stages. In the first stage, alternative narratives of the Trojan war myths were obliterated, to the extent that they did not tally with the version of the Homeric rhapsodes.<sup>127</sup> In the second stage, the canon as it had been defined by the Homeric rhapsodes underwent a further selective process, which resulted in its contraction. For these combined reasons, only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have come down to us under the label 'Homeric poetry'. Since the outcome was not produced by accidental circumstances in the transmission of the texts, we would be mistaken in speaking in terms of 'loss' and 'preservation'. The phenomenon can rather be framed in the terms of an analogy with geological processes. After the vast continent of epic poetry had stratified by the sedimentation of diverse narrative materials over a long course of time, at least two major tectonic shocks caused certain parts to emerge above the others, while the rest, conversely, sank downward, as by subduction: as stretches of the former continent disappeared from the awareness and interests of the Greek world, they were ultimately altogether forgotten in the subsequent tradition. Hence my inclusion of the epic within the category of submersion.

## 2 An Instance of Epic Submersion

### 2.1 The cycle of Creophylei and Sparta

A considerable part of the narrative material of the archaic epic tradition, as we know, never rose to the upper strata of Panhellenic circuits, was never performed at the inter-state *panegyreis*, nor benefited from the generous patronage of tyrants. Epics of this order were produced throughout the Greek world, and constituted the varied and copious substratum of epic poetry that only circulated at a local or regional level, as Laura Lulli's contribution to this volume illustrates. At the same time, other epic traditions did have the initial strength to contend for the favour of prominent audiences against the prestige of the Homeridae, but lost out in the competition at the decisive historical turn, failed to

become established in the affluent and reputed market of tyrannical commissions of the late-archaic period, and were finally submerged in the sense clarified above. These alternative narratives of the Trojan saga were excluded from the canon established by the guild of the *Homeridae* towards the end of the sixth century; while the latter gained recognition under the seal of excellence of 'Homeric poetry' and continued to be performed, other narrative traditions lost currency and were forgotten. They were forgotten to a large extent, that is, though not entirely. Beyond the scant attestations that are available, I believe that echoes of these alternative narratives are to be discerned in the contemporary lyric tradition, which entertained a profitable and protracted exchange of mythical subject-matter with the epic, and possibly also in the figurative arts. Substantial and significant variants of the Trojan saga, that is to say, wholly distinct from the parts of the epic cycle we know (the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) and from the parts we are able to reconstruct (the remainder of the cycle), were also represented in both the lyric and figurative tradition. Conscious though I am of the demands for methodological caution in seeking to establish direct links between the epic and the lyric, and, *a fortiori*, between the epic and the figurative arts, it is precisely in this direction I intend to develop my line of argument.

Other scholars, notably Walter Burkert in an important article from 1972,<sup>128</sup> identified the rhapsodic guild of the *Creophylei* of Samos as a notable instance of such alternative epic traditions. To the mainframe of Burkert's study, I wish to add some further remarks. Deemed to be the heirs of one *Kreophylos* (whose figure, mythical in all likelihood, I shall not examine here),<sup>129</sup> in the same way that the *Homeridai* traced back their lineage to an *Homeros* whom they designated their common ancestor, the *Kreophyleioi*, no less than the *Homeridai*,<sup>130</sup> would deserve our attention on account of their name alone, as we shall later see. The most important tradition to record them has its first attestation in a fragment of Aristotle's *Politeiai* (fr. 611 Rose *ap.* Heraclides Lembos 10. 16. 9 = 'Creophylus' test. 14 Bernabé) and is continued by Plutarch (*Lyc.* 4. 5 = test. 15 Bernabé) and Claudius Aelianus (*Var. Hist.* 13. 14). According to this tradition, Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, introduced 'Homeric poetry' to the Peloponnese, and notably to Sparta (and from there to the whole of continental Greece, according to Aelianus), having received the text at Samos from its custodians, the

Creophylei. There are clear difficulties with this tradition: several scholars regard it as a suspicious Spartan parallel for the Athenian tradition, which claims the text of the Homeric poems preserved by the guild of the Homeridae at Chios was introduced to Attica either by Solon, or by Pisistratus, or by the Pisistratids (depending on the source).<sup>131</sup> Without examining the details, there can be no doubt that the tradition relating to Lycurgus and the Creophylei of Samos, in the form in which it has come to us, is modelled on the Attic story of Solon (or Pisistratus, or the Pisistratids) and the Homeridae of Chios.<sup>132</sup> Common sense tells us that the existence of an established text preserved in written form is perfectly plausible for the sixth century BCE (thus, on the Attic side), and far less so at the much earlier chronology (eighth century?) that would suit the elusive figure of Lycurgus, on the Spartan side. It is a long shot from here, however, to regarding the tradition as wholly unfounded. Sparta, we must not forget, was among the first continental Greek poleis to become familiar with the language and themes of the Homeric epic, as early as the seventh century. We need only think of the remarkable ‘Homericity’ of style in Tyrtaeus’ surviving elegies (whose ancestry, one ancient biographical tradition records, was Ionian [Milesian]),<sup>133</sup> and of the echoes of the Trojan epic in the fragments of Alcman (he too, in the tradition, is biographically related to the micro-Asiatic world [Lydia]).<sup>134</sup> Whatever the truth of the matter, the existence of traditions which relate Tyrtaeus and Alcman to the micro-Asiatic world signals that Sparta persisted in being culturally oriented to a policy of openness as far as the seventh century BCE, at least with regard to micro-Asiatic influences, and that its social and political closure to the remainder of the Hellenic world was a later development.<sup>135</sup> We might suppose, then, that between the end of the eighth century and the seventh century BCE a guild of Ionian rhapsodes from Samos (viz., the Creophylei) was invited to Sparta, to which it brought parts of an epic repertoire that only later came to be identified by the common designation ‘Homeric’ and preserved as such within the rhapsodic milieu: thus revised, it appears to me, we have a perfectly tenable version of the tradition.

Supposing this to have been the Spartan scenario in the seventh century, let us reappraise three lyric fragments by Alcman, all of which have the Trojan epic myth for subject:

Δύσπαρις, Αἰνόπαρις κακὸν Ἑλλάδι βωτιανεῖρα

‘Damned Paris, terrible Paris, plague for Greece where  
heroes are nourished’

*PMGF* fr. 68 = 95 Calame

δουρὶ δὲ ξυστῶ μέμανεν Αἴας αἱματῇ (Hiller-Crusius:  
αἱματα codd.) τε Μένων

‘With the polished lance rages Ajax and bloodthirsty is  
Memnon’

*PMGF* fr. 80 = 102 Calame

Καί ποκ’ Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ὥατ’ ἐταίρων  
Κίρκα ἐπαλείψασα

‘And once Circe smearing (wax) on the ears of  
Odysseus’ fellows’

Taken together, the fragments prove Alcman was familiar with almost the entire span of the narrative tradition regarding the Trojan saga and the attendant *nostoi*: from the remote causes of the war connected with Paris (fragment one, above), to the war episodes successive or collateral to Achilles’ *menis* (fragment two, above), down to the Odyssean narratives (fragment three, above). The second and third further reveal Alcman’s acquaintance with variants of the myth at odds with the version recorded in the two Homeric poems and the remainder of the Trojan cycle as we understand it in the extant fragments and *testimonia*:<sup>136</sup> no mention is made, as far as we know, of a clash between Ajax and Memnon in the cycle narratives of the Trojan war that followed the *Iliad* in the saga. The other fragment informs us that the stratagem of sealing the ears of Odysseus’ companions with wax, to be related to the Sirens episode, was devised by Circe – a version not in accordance with the *Odyssey*. Could one then suppose that, in the seventh century, Samian rhapsodes of the school of Creophylus should have executed at Sparta (and possibly at other places in the Peloponnese) narrative sequences of a Trojan cycle which in several episodes (the main structural lines, even) diverged from the version known to us by extant sources (a version into which ‘our’ *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were incorporated to form the ‘canonical’ cycle of the Homeridae)?

Let us recall that the name of Creophylus, forefather of the

Creophylei, was associated with *The Capture of Oechalia*, a poem which, like several epic narratives of the archaic age, was also drawn into the pseudo-epigraphal orbit of Homer's name, becoming one of the most significant and controversial instances of dual attribution.<sup>137</sup> Given the local tradition according to which Spartans (and especially their kings) trace their genealogy to Heracles, the poem's focus on one of Heracles' war campaigns was particularly relevant to Sparta's contemporary political context. If it were correct, as some suppose, to ascribe to this poem three doubtful fragments mentioning the capture of Messenic Pylos by Heracles (frr. 6–8 Bernabé), we should then be able to suppose that, by incorporating the capture of both Oechalia and Pylos,<sup>138</sup> the poem supplied mythic models to suit the ends of Spartan expansionism in the latter half of the eighth century and early decades of the seventh century BCE, the period of the Messenic wars. It is within this timeframe that the ancient Greek mytho-historical memory places the lives of the great epic poets such as Homer and Creophylus (held to be contemporaries in the pseudo-biographic tradition). The affiliation of the guild of the Creophylei to Sparta may, thus, have originated in the same period to which the life of its founder (whether actual or presumed) is ascribed, and may have been grounded in the production and performance of epics informed by the specific requirements of Laconic patronage.

## 2.2 The cycle of the Creophylei and Samos

In the sixth-century BCE Samos enjoyed its highest moment of cultural prestige within the Greek world. Culturally and politically, the influence of the Creophylei was at its zenith: a tradition recorded in Porphyry's *Lives of Pythagoras* (1 = test. 16 Bernabé) and in Iamblicus (2. 11 = test. 19 Bernabé) identifies the Creophyleus Hermodamas as the mentor of Pythagoras himself.<sup>139</sup> Among the texts referable to the patronage of sixth-century Samian tyrants we have *The Ode to Polycrates* by Ibycus. The ode, we may note in passing, is implicated, along with other sources on the topic, in a complex *querelle* regarding the dates and existence of one or two autocrats by the name of Polycrates.<sup>140</sup> For the purpose of our discussion it is sufficient to record that the ode is dedicated to the island's future tyrant, who died in 522 BCE, as a young *laudandus*, and must therefore have been

composed between the 64<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (564–561 BCE), when Ibycus came to Samos, and Polycrates' accession to power (533–522 BCE).

Ostensibly informed by the rhetorical device of the *recusatio* of the epic theme (l. 10 f.), and although the epic theme ultimately lends the poem its sole subject-matter, the ode as reconstructed from the conjunction of POxy 1790 fr. 1 and POxy 2081 (f) is articulated in ten strophes almost entirely devoted to the Trojan saga.<sup>141</sup> Only in the final two strophes does the general theme turn at last to the encomium of the beauty of young Polycrates (likened to the epic heroes previously celebrated) and to the promise of the imperishable *kleos* brought upon the *laudandus* by his celebration in verse. The repertoire of allusions to the Trojan war is ordered into a pattern which is repeated over sequences of lines and does not single out any episode: the poem, rather, roams widely over the war's antecedents, preparatory events, and outcomes. Swinging from end to end of the saga like a pendulum, the *excursus* seems intended to embrace the unfolding of events into a comprehensive vision. Arguably, we may construe its poetic device of panoptic representation as the lyric alternative to epic modes of exposition, whereby the ode provides a compendious treatment of the Trojan myth's subject matter, as against the extensive and analytic *modus narrandi* of the epic. But I would also interpret such mode of representation as a tribute to the rhapsodic tradition of Ionia, which, at that historical moment, was gradually accomplishing the feat of organising a vast, centuries-old inheritance of epic songs, systematically ordering its extensive narratives into coherent lines of *diegesis*, and of conferring upon it the value-laden label of 'Homeric poetry' so as to promote it to the dignity of Panhellenic collective consciousness.<sup>142</sup> In the instance of the ode by Ibycus, performed at Samos for a Samian patron and *laudandus*, it seems quite unnecessary to construe its mythical allusions looking at epic poetry and citharodic lyrics on heroic themes executed and transmitted in contexts far removed from the island (by reference to Stesichorus, for instance). I would remain, rather, within the bounds of the Samian local tradition, and argue that homage was being specifically paid, out of the rhapsodic guilds of the Aegean and micro-Asiatic world, to the Creophylei of Samos. Given the historic period, the poem's place of composition and performance, and its intended audience, I cannot imagine a simpler or more economical hypothesis.



Let us then look at the poem's closing section (Il. 36–48):

..... κάλλι]στος ἀπ' Ἄργεος  
..... Κυάνι]ππ[ο]ς ἐς Ἴλιον  
.....]  
..... ]. [.].

—  
..... ]α χρυσεόστροφ[ος  
Ἵλλις ἐγήνατο, τῷ δ' [ἄ]ρα Τρωῖλον  
ὥσεί χρυσὸν ὀρει-  
χάλκῳ τρις ἄπεφθο[ν] ἤδη

Τρῶες Δ[α]ναοί τ' ἐρό[ε]σσαν  
μορφὰν μάλ' εἴσκον ὅμοιον.  
τοῖς μὲν πέδα κάλλεος αἰένκαὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος  
ἄφθιτον ἐξεῖς  
ὥς κατ' αἰοῖδαν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος.

'..... the best] in beauty from Argos  
.....Kyanippus to Ilion

.....] the goldenband  
Hyllis gave birth (to him: Zeuxippus); and Troilus -  
declared Trojans and Achaeans -  
was like unto him for lovely beauty,  
like thrice refined gold to mountain copper.  
Thou too with them, Polycrates, shalt have immortal  
fame of beauty,  
as immortal, for my poetry, will be my fame'.

A marginal scholium to v. 37 transmitted in POxy 1790 and other converging sources allow us to establish with some confidence that the mutilated section of the text referred to the Peloponnesian heroes Kyanippus and Zeuxippus, genealogically related to the Argive and Sicyonian mythical dynasties respectively:<sup>143</sup> together with the Trojan hero Troilus, they appeared in a catalogue of the most comely heroes to have fought at Troy – providing the pretext for the final encomium to the young Polycrates. This, as has been noted, marks a significant departure from the mythic contents of the Trojan cycle as transmitted in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and, as far as we can tell, the other poems in the cycle.<sup>144</sup> Kyanippus and Zeuxippus are never mentioned in the Homeric

epic, not even where a parallel catalogue of beautiful heroes fighting at Troy has Achilles followed only by Nireus of Syme (Il. 2. 671–675); what is known of the other cycle poems is enough to further surmise that these two heroes were not mentioned there either.<sup>145</sup> On the other hand, the appearance in the Trojan saga of these Peloponnesian heroes, both hailing from Argolis, is consistent with the tradition discussed above whereby the interests of the Creophylei of Samos had already begun to lean towards the Peloponnesian poleis in the early archaic age. With specific regard to the sixth century (the time of composition of Ibycus' lyric poem), a widely known and much debated passage in Herodotus (5. 67) relating to the tyrant Cleisthenes of Sicyon attests to intensive rhapsodic activity in the Argive-Sicyonian area on poetry defined 'Homeric', with implications that even touched upon the two confining cities' political relations. We may easily imagine that the Creophylei of Samos were among these rhapsodes, on the grounds of what is known of the tradition of religious and cultural interrelations among the two most important centres of the Panhellenic cult of Hera.<sup>146</sup>

I wish to add to my arguments a later attestation from local historian Dionysius of Argos in a passage known to us through the scholia to vv. 1 ff. of Pindar's second *Nemea* (III, p. 30 s., ll. 8 ss. Drach. = *FGrHist* 308 F 2). Dionysius recounted how an ancient tradition of rhapsodes, probably related to the collective memory of Argos, the historian's own polis, bartered their performances for choice cuts of lamb, and were thereby called ἀρνῳδοί. We may return briefly to the name Κρεοφύλαιοι and re-examine the hypothesis that the proper name Κρεόφυλος was derived from the collective Κρεοφύλαιοι, in the same way that Ὅμηρος derived from Ὅμηρίδαι (as opposed to the inverse derivation).<sup>147</sup> The para-etymology in Plato (*Resp.* 600e), who derives the name from φιλέω, in the sense of 'lovers, cravers of flesh' is patently erroneous; what is beyond dispute, however, is that this collective name for a group of epic performers, better interpreted in the sense of 'breed or clan of the flesh', must have signified some connection between κρέας, meaning 'flesh', and the practice of epic performance. This interpretation is not so far-fetched: the *Odyssey* (8. 469 ff.) speaks of Demodocus receiving a prime cut of meat in recognition of his worth as performer, while he is invited (by Odysseus) to a new exhibition.

On the strength of these elements, I would maintain that the laudatory ode to Polycrates represents an echo, *in lyricis*,

of a significant epico-rhapsodic tradition of the Trojan saga that is wholly lost to us – if we except sparse glimmerings to be gleaned from lyric poetry and a small number of representations in the figurative arts. One instance from the latter category is a Corinthian black-figure cup held at the Brussels Royal Library and dated ca. 580 BCE; its depictions and captions are all clearly referable to the Iliadic saga, and yet they are also at odds with the Trojan epic cycle in its canonical form, whether directly or indirectly transmitted.<sup>148</sup> One illustration represents the duel of Hector and Achilles, with the main characters respectively flanked by Sarpedon and Phoenix; another represents the scene of Ajax' fight with Aeneas, in which the second Ajax, however, appears together with the character of one Hippocles, who is altogether absent in the Homeric poems and whose presence is not attested in the other cycle poems; a third represents the scene of Dolon unarmed as he flees whilst looking over his shoulder. A. Snodgrass, a scholar generally known for his scepticism on the matter of establishing direct derivations of archaic figurative art from poetic sources, inclines, in the specific instance of the decorations on this cup, towards a free 'conflation' of the *Iliad* and the *Cypria*.<sup>149</sup> What makes this notion unconvincing, however, are elements in the iconography which feature neither in the *Iliad* nor in what we know of the other poems of the Trojan cycle, such as the unrecorded hero Hippocles. The artist appears to have drawn from a 'different' form of the cycle, as opposed to providing a free rendition of the version known to us. In other words, this appears to be a comparable instance, in the figurative arts, of what we have observed about the poetry of Alcman and Ibycus in relation to the epic tradition of Creophylei – a reading possible also for the iconography of the cup, and further supported by the fact that the artist was Peloponnesian.<sup>150</sup>

### 3 The reasons for submersion

We have seen that, throughout the archaic age, an 'alternative' epico-rhapsodic tradition flourished which contributed significantly to the fortunes of the Trojan saga in such foremost regions of Greece as the Peloponnese and Sparta. In what way, then, and at what point in its history was this tradition subjected to submersion, leading to its ultimate

obliteration? What proved decisive, as we have shown, was its failure to compete with that of the Homeridae of Chios. The information we are able to extrapolate from the pseudo-biographical traditions, many of which originated within the rhapsodic milieus of the archaic age, support this interpretation:<sup>151</sup> on the subject of the relation between Homer, forefather of the Homeridae, and Creophylus of Samos, forefather of the Creophylei, the legendary 'biographies' (*Vitae Homeri*) are unclear on even such basic points as which of the two was the other's elder, who was master and who was pupil, and to whom the poems are to be ascribed. The ambiguities in the sources, at any rate, bespeak competition among the two guilds (with a bias, as one would expect, towards the winning tradition, which is to say that of the Homeridae).<sup>152</sup> As for the final outcome of the competition, it was almost certainly decided by complex political and cultural developments occurring towards the final decades of the sixth century BCE. The Creophylei quite probably suffered an initial setback in their own Samos with the accession to power of Polycrates as tyrant, for the reason that some of them were connected with sectors of the aristocracy which had opposed Polycrates and backed the armed intervention of Sparta and Corinth (cf Herod. 3. 44–49). Pythagoras was also exiled from Samos because of his opposition to Polycrates, and on this subject we have seen that an ancient tradition records how Pythagoras had been mentored by the Creophyleus Hermodamas. This shift in Samian political equilibria would also explain in the plainest terms the fact that, in 523 or 522 BCE, the tyrant of Samos held the celebration of the Delian-Pythian festival at Delos and invited the Homeridae, commissioning them to recite the *Hymn to Apollo* in its monumental form, instead of asking the Samian Creophylei.<sup>153</sup> While Polycrates began to favour the Homeridae over the Creophylei, thus determining the latter's marginalisation even at Samos, the ambitious and munificent tyrannical government of Athens (in good relations, let us note, with the Samian tyranny), compounded this cultural trend. Pisistratus and his sons also hired the Homeridae to perform at the reformed Panathenaea: this performance was probably the largest-scale execution in rhapsodic sequence of the poetry ascribed to Homer; it was accompanied by the production of a text written expressly for the polis, and, most importantly, canonized for the first time a version of the Trojan cycle in its entirety.<sup>154</sup> On the level of cultural

propaganda, the Panhellenic prestige Athens began to enjoy in the tyrannical age, and which lasted for over two centuries, was the principal element in determining the primacy of the canon of the Homeridae over competing traditions (e.g., that of Creophylei). Its effects were immediate, to the extent that the guild of Homeridae was invited to Syracuse, in Sicily, in 504, and also lasting, because the privileged relation of the Homeridae with Athens continued into the classical age, when Athens was a democracy, consolidating their reputation as custodians and executors of Homeric epic poetry.<sup>155</sup> The combined effect of these factors explains why the Trojan cycle as we know it (whether directly or indirectly) is that elaborated as a canon by the rhapsodic milieu of Homeridae at a precise historical juncture. Only this version survived, for the reasons explained above, while the competing tradition of the Creophylei became submerged. Submersion did not immediately entail complete neglect, if we consider how alive the Samian epic tradition remained, between the sixth and fifth century BCE, with poets such as Asius and Choerilus. In an environment such as Samos, where epic poetry had been practised for centuries, it would have been unlikely for a rhapsodic tradition as prestigious and deeply rooted in the local consciousness as that of the Creophylei to become forgotten as early as the archaic age. At the same time, the genealogical epics of Asius and the historical epics of Choerilus already represent a local tradition compelled to turn to new subjects as it lost prestige on the terrain of the heroic narratives.<sup>156</sup>

Epic poetry, to conclude, provides important elements that help us understand the time-sequence and dynamics whereby, at certain transitional moments in the history of ancient Greek culture, certain poetic traditions and certain texts prevailed over others and attained a greater measure of success, whereas others lost out in the competition and suffered a process of submersion. The final decades of the sixth century BCE marked the first turning point in the discrimination of so great a part of the Greek epic tradition. We have seen that this turn was determined by a complex of factors: some political, some tied to the geography of cultural production, some tied to patronage and the shifting assets of power. One guild of rhapsodes (the Homeridae) was favoured by this turn, and succeeded in producing, broadcasting, and preserving its own heritage of epic narratives and texts. Everything that was excluded from the prevailing canon

survived for some time, albeit in a secondary role or within a circumscribed context; later, it came to be finally forgotten and lost.

# Local Epics and Epic Cycles: the Anomalous Case of a Submerged Genre<sup>157</sup>

The purpose of this essay is to investigate the vestiges, amid the complex of the Greek epic tradition, of epics and epic cycles treating historical and mythical themes with a strong local interest. We shall focus, therefore, on a constellation of poems which, for reasons we shall expound, have all but disappeared. As Livio Sbardella has shown in his essay,<sup>158</sup> the canon (with particular reference to the Trojan cycle) had begun to form through the recitations of the guild of the Homeridae, and was consolidated in the Hellenistic age through the philological efforts of the Alexandrian grammarians.<sup>159</sup>

We intend to frame the fate of this and of comparable epic poems within the category of 'submerged literature'. More specifically, we are able to claim that one distinguishing feature of the submerged epic was its *intermittent* survival: the transmission of these poems and cycles, all characterised by their impressive variety of themes (intimately related to their epichoric context of origin, in the main), was especially uncertain – alternating between phases of emersion (which coincided with a renewed, if temporary, interest in the specific narrative theme), and periods of submersion (ultimately, the prelude to final disappearance).<sup>160</sup> At the same time, there is also evidence (however faint and fragmented), that at an early date, well into the archaic age, contrary attempts had been made to consolidate what, for the time being, we shall refer to 'extended narrative compounds', and to arrange, within the form of the epic, episodes derived from several complex and articulated epic sagas. One noteworthy example is the *Herakleia* by Pisander of Camirus, who endeavoured to devise a narrative disposition for all of the labours of Heracles, organizing them, according to indirect evidence, in two books<sup>161</sup> and providing a comprehensive narrative.<sup>162</sup> In spite of the author's attempt to organize such a wealth of

traditional myths into a primitive canon and although his name had been part of the canon of epic poets since antiquity, the work of Pisander of Camirus failed to survive.<sup>163</sup>

We must note at the outset that ancient and modern critics have mostly agreed in regarding this production, of which only fragments survive, as ensembles of distinct epic cycles, or as conglomerates of several epic poems. There are at least three difficulties with this representation. In the first place, 'cycle' is not an immediately self-explanatory notion, since we are dealing with fragments that make it difficult to understand the nature of their original collocation.<sup>164</sup> We may reasonably ask whether it is legitimate to speak of a cycle whenever we are confronted with a set of epic poems each of which is individually devoted to, say, a given saga, or city, or historical event. Secondly, we may question what exactly the ancients would have understood by 'cycle':<sup>165</sup> did the term apply to the phase of their composition (meaning that the poems were conceived and assembled in the light of the cyclical nature of their epic subject matter)? Or did it denote, rather, the practice of rhapsodic recitation (as in the archaic and classical ages); or the practices of declamation or mere reading (as in the Hellenistic age and in Roman times)? Finally, we may ask whether, based on the information available to us, it is possible to discriminate epic poems which were likely to be part of a cycle from those which have an ostensibly non-cyclical nature (which is to say, independent of any saga or general theme, in spite of the fact that the saga or theme was the subject matter of a somewhat unitary set of poems). For a set of poems to constitute a 'cycle', was thematic unity a requisite, or was it sufficient that there be a number of links among poems in the course of rhapsodic recitation? What would have counted for one cycle, and when are we actually dealing with several cycles?

In other words, it is legitimate to inquire whether or not the non-Homeric epic fragments should always be regarded as the residual fragments of a cycle; we may also suppose that in at least certain instances, we are dealing with selfstanding poems which deal with themes selected from a broader and more complex mythical framework, and that the Greek audience of an epic performance would have been quite familiar with said framework. It should not be taken for granted, therefore, that the contours of an epic cycle can be precisely drawn. If, on the one hand, we may suppose that some of the fragments we possess formed part of a broader



complex of poems, there are, on the other hand, several more fragments which cannot necessarily be assumed to have belonged to poems which in turn were part of a chain of epic compositions. A poem might have stood as an independent composition, while its relation to a given mythical framework was entirely obvious to its public. In this perspective, the concept of submersion may pertinently be employed in one of its senses: if submersion is understood not only as the dynamics of intermittent appearance and dispersion of epic subject matter, but also as applied to the substratum of myths from which the epic poems drew the essential narrative elements, then we may regard the investigation of submerged epic poems as the opportunity to understand something of the communal heritage of myths which, in a word, constituted Greek folklore.<sup>166</sup>

Documentary evidence that a poem belonged in the repertoire of rhapsodic performers may be taken to indicate that a poem was originally part of a cycle: whenever the sources (whether direct or indirect) attest that a given poem was recited by a rhapsode, it is quite likely (and certainly cannot be ruled out) that the poem belonged in a no longer extant cycle.<sup>167</sup> An especially problematic instance is that of a group of poems which bear no relation to either the Trojan or the Theban cycle, which Albert Severyns has classified 'geste mythique'.<sup>168</sup> The poems so classed by Severyns are little known and extremely fragmentary: Severyns proposed to describe them as an epic cycle whose internal cohesion is supplied by the common heritage of myths to which they refer and from which their subject matter is drawn.<sup>169</sup> Among these poems, mostly known to us by way of fragments of indirect tradition, there are some which can be related to the Heracleian saga, such as *The Capture of Oechalia* (to which we shall shortly return); others, including a *Titanomachy*,<sup>170</sup> *Danaïs*,<sup>171</sup> *Aegimius*,<sup>172</sup> and *Minyas*,<sup>173</sup> draw on other myths.

By its very inclusiveness, Severyns's definition 'geste mythique' signals the intrinsic difficulty in referring any of the poems so classified to a strictly defined epic cycle. We wish to suggest that epic compositions of this kind can be better understood in terms of 'submersion', to the extent that they are less documented by direct and indirect sources, not only by the standards of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but also when compared with the Trojan and the Theban cycle, the best known of all cycles. At any rate, these poems are the manifest and far from secondary indication of the fact that the archaic

and late-archaic age produced a composite series of epics. This production must have extended much further than the surviving remains allow us to gauge; a lot more must have been produced than survived the systematization and canonization of the genre imposed first by archaic and late-archaic rhapsodes first, and then, as of the fourth century BCE, by the philosophical and philological speculation of scholars.<sup>174</sup>

## The ‘submersion’ of epic narrations on Heracles

We have seen that the epics dealing with Heracles provide significant instances of submersion; other mythical sagas are related by a class of hexameter compositions which, both linguistically and thematically, reflect interests that are regional rather than Panhellenic. One noteworthy poem among the compositions on the theme is *The Capture of Oechalia*,<sup>175</sup> which relates the labours of Heracles in this legendary city, governed by king Eurytion; the poem was known to Homer too.<sup>176</sup> Ever since antiquity it has been disputed whether the poem was to be attributed to Homer or to one Creophylus of Samos, whose name was closely associated to Homer in ancient biographic tradition.<sup>177</sup> Attributions are similarly problematic with several other epics from the cycles (as the *Cypria* shows), proving that Homer’s name must have stood with the public as a guarantee of the standards of a narrative, and that the practice of attributing epic poems to Homer had become consolidated at least since the late-archaic age, particularly in the context of rhapsodic composition and performance.<sup>178</sup> Two passages are of special interest in relation to this poem:

Creophylus fr. 2. I Bernabé (= Paus. 4. 2. 3)

Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ καὶ Εὐβοεῖς - ἥκει γὰρ δὴ ἐς  
ἀμφισβήτησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι (τὰ) πλείω -  
λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν ὡς τὸ Εὐρύτιον - χωρίον δὲ ἔρημον  
ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τὸ Εὐρύτιον - πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν καὶ  
ἐκαλεῖτο Οἰχαλία τῷ δὲ Εὐβοέων λόγῳ Κρεώφυλος ἐν  
Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποίηκεν ὁμολογοῦντα.

The Thessalians and Euboeans (most things in Greece being controversial) say, in the latter case that Eurytion, a deserted site in my time, was anciently a city and was called Oichalia; and Creophylus in his *Heraclea* has written things in agreement with the Euboeans' story. (transl. M. L. West)

Creophylus fr. 2. II Bernabé (= Strab. 9. 5. 17 438)

τὴν δ' Οἰχαλίαν πόλιν Εὐρύτου λεγομένην ἔν τε τοῖς τόποις τούτοις (sc. περὶ Τρίκκην) ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, καὶ μετονομάζουσιν ἄλλως, ὃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς (9. 5. 16) εἴρηται. περὶ δὲ τούτων ζητοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα, τίς ἦν ἡ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀλοῦσα, καὶ περὶ τίνος συνέγραψεν ὁ ποιήσας τὴν Οἰχαλίαν ἄλωσιν.

The city of Oechalia, known as of Eurytion, they say is to be located in these lands (sc. around Tricca), and also in Euboea and in Arcadia, and they call it differently, as also said in the section on the Peloponnesus (9. 5. 16). With regard to these topics they argue and especially on which city was the Oechalia conquered by Heracles, and upon which Oechalia the poet of *The Capture of Oechalia* had written.

Pausanias and Strabo inform us that the location of Oechalia was a debated issue in antiquity, since different traditions named at least three different regions: Thessaly, Euboea, and Arcadia.<sup>179</sup> Both authors discussed and attempted to establish the location of the city from information derived from the poem *The Capture of Oechalia*, or *Heraclea*. Following the Euboean traditions, Pausanias states that according to the *Heraclea* by Creophylus of Samos, the ancient city of Oechalia was in Euboea. Strabo refers to the poem as *The Capture of Oechalia*: he remarks on its value for scholarly inquiry, particularly with regard to the question as to which of the several cities named Oechalia had been conquered by Heracles, and was the location of Creophylus' narratives. We cannot hope to re-draw the maps of the epic narratives, whether these be the *Iliad*, the Hesiodic epic, or *The Capture of Oechalia*: there are obvious difficulties, and any results would be far from reliable. At the same time, Pausanias and

Strabo testify that Creophylus' version of the events connected with Oechalia did not necessarily accord with the *Iliad* version, where Oechalia is described as a Thessalian city.<sup>180</sup> The authorities we have on *The Capture of Oechalia* indicate that the poem had an independent narrative profile, a fact which to some degree must have been determined by the exigencies of localism: if Pausanias and Strabo, whose knowledge of these epics was probably more detailed than ours, are able to derive an exact location for the city from the narrative of the poem, this opens an unexplored line of inquiry. *The Capture of Oechalia* was probably composed in the context of the Samian guild of the Creophylei,<sup>181</sup> and a number of sources indicate that it had connections with a high-standing Mediterranean cultural milieu (as the alleged links with both Lycurgus and Pythagoras would prove).<sup>182</sup> The poem presumably gave a version of the labours of Heracles at Oechalia based, in some part at least, on a tradition that would have been popular among a regional (as opposed to Panhellenic) audience. The same rationale must apply to the topographic information we find in Pausanias and Strabo: if the poem diverges from the Homeric tradition with regard to the city's whereabouts, we must primarily regard this as additional topographic information; at the same time, we can also surmise that its author wished to collocate the city (and the events that relate to it) in a context that would attract the local audience, and, simultaneously, that he intended to distinguish his own narrative from the tradition of Homer.

## **Epic narratives with local concerns: fated for submersion?**

Another chapter in the history of the epic genre which can usefully be investigated under the lens of 'submersion' is represented by a set of epics which show an interest not only in myths, but also historical events.<sup>183</sup> Again, the poems are mostly lost, and only known through fragments that have survived by indirect tradition.

Among these epics there is a particular series which was not directly addressed in the study of Albert Severyns, in so far as they do not qualify as cyclic poems by the standard of his classification. One example is the poem known to us as *Naupaktika* or *Naupaktia* (*Carmen Naupactium*),<sup>184</sup> of

uncertain attribution.<sup>185</sup> Judging from indirect sources and the very few fragments of direct tradition, we are able to establish that its main theme was a catalogue of women along the lines of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai*, with several narrative inserts on mythical subjects (the story of the Argonauts, for instance). Pausanias refers to the Argonauts in one passage:

*Carmen Naupactium* fr. 9 Bernabé (= Paus. 2. 3. 9)

ἔπη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλήσι Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα·  
πεποιήται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰάσονα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν  
Πελίου θανάτου ἐς Κόρκυραν μετοικῆσαι καὶ οἱ  
Μέρμερον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ  
λεαίνης διαφθαρήναι θηρεύοντα ἐν τῇ πέραν ἡπίρῳ·  
Φέρητι δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην προσκείμενον.

There is an epic called *Naupactia* among the Greeks, and it is written in it that Jason migrated from Iolcus after Pelias' death to Corcyra; and that Mermerus, the elder of his sons, was killed by a lioness as he was hunting on the mainland opposite, but nothing further is recorded about Pheres. (transl. M. L. West)

In a long passage devoted to the several traditions regarding Medea's children, Pausanias also mentions that the *Carmen Naupactium* records that after killing Pelias, Jason migrated from Iolcus to Corcyra. Marginal as it may appear, due to our difficulty in understanding its original narrative context, such information is at least an important signal of the poem's orientation towards local interests. Clearly, Jason's voyage to Corcyra is meant to satisfy the predilection of the milieu and audiences of Naupactus for north-western settings. A further attestation of the importance, within the poem, of a version of the myth that was popular with the local audience is its reference to the adventures of Mermerus, the eldest of Jason's sons, killed by a lioness in Epirus. In the *Odyssey* (1. 259), there is a reference to Ilo, son of Mermerus and a native of Ephyra;<sup>186</sup> this character must have originally belonged in a regional saga, only to be related to Jason when the latter was, in turn, cast in the sagas and mythical narratives favoured by the milieu of Naupactus and Corcyra.<sup>187</sup>

Alongside works by unknown authors, the disappearance of epic poems other than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* extended to

hexameter compositions of the late-archaic and classical ages for which the question of authorship had been explicitly settled by tradition.<sup>188</sup> Since the end of the late-archaic age, and certainly at the height of the classical age, the system of communications in Greece had ceased to depend solely on the purely oral/aural channel which had previously governed all stages in the life of a poem (composition, execution/publication, and transmission), but began to function on an intermixture of orality and writing which ensured, among other things, that more distinctly defined authorial figures could emerge from the depths of tradition than had occurred in the past. Two paradigmatic instances are the poems devoted by Pisander of Camirus (discussed above) and by Panyassis of Halicarnassus to the Heracleian saga – a traditional theme which continued to appear in the epic genre from the archaic through to the Hellenistic age. The all but complete disappearance of the work of these two authors is an issue that deserves special consideration, since both appear to have been included in the so-called Alexandrian canon, as a number of sources records.<sup>189</sup> This, however, proved insufficient to guarantee their survival within the complex dynamics of transmission. Their poems on Heracles have vanished almost entirely, and it cannot be ruled out that in these and like instances the intimate bonds between a work and its epichoric context of origin should, in the long run, have determined the fate of the work in terms of its submersion. In this perspective, it is worth noting that in authors such as Pisander, to name but one instance, the strict connexion between the epic poem and its epichoric background manifestly appears also at the level of language, with an epic diction which at times favours the insertion of traits which do not conform to the Ionian-Homeric traditional model.<sup>190</sup>

## **Some hypotheses on likely factors of emergence and submersion**

The question, at this point, is for what reason or reasons a wide and varied range of archaic and late-archaic poems failed to be transmitted in its integrity. There are certainly reasons that apply specifically to each individual epic poem and cycle of poems; furthermore, due to the extremely partial

and fragmentary nature of the materials in our possession, generalizations are neither possible nor desirable. At the same time, it is striking that the production of such an extensive period of time should have thus vanished almost entirely (leaving aside, for the time being, the Hellenistic age, although the process whereby the epics came to be lost seems not to have been reversed in any degree, with the notable exception of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*).

Over the long course of the literary existence of the epic genre, from the archaic age to the hellenistic age and beyond, the factors that could ensure the persistence of a hexameter composition were twofold. On the one hand, an important role was played by the Panhellenic character of the work – or better, by its aptness to meet the interests of a broad audience, at least at the stylistic and thematic level, with the effect that repeated performances and the varied uses of the work, even at a considerable distance from the time and place of its original composition, would continue to engage the interest first of its listeners and later of its readers. On the other hand, the emergence of certain poems and not others was determined by the presence of elements which favoured the process of canonization, probably occurring in two stages: first the stage of rhapsodic recitation in the archaic and late-archaic age; then a stage which began in the fourth century at the latest, with the theoretical speculation on poetry by Plato and Aristotle. By this process the standard of canonical works was determined, whereby only certain compositions were handed down to posterity through the schools of Alexandrian erudition and philology.

Such a process left out all poems and epic cycles displaying the traits of marked local concerns, be it on the level of historical or mythical themes, or on the level of style. In terms of subject matter, the guarantees that an epic should be destined to emerge were scarcest when the centre-stage in the narrative was held by regional variants of a myth or historical facts to which only a local audience would have been especially receptive (as in a large section of the historical epics of the classical age and of the historico-eulogistic epics of the hellenistic age), or when the narrative focussed on elements that were bound to a given timeframe (so as to have only relative, time-constrained, relevance). Poems of this kind were invariably destined for quite the opposite fate of submersion, only to resurface in tatters from the sands of the Egyptian *chora*, where the Greeks who went

seeking their origins and roots could, with some satisfaction, find regional variants of a myth and the poetic narratives of key moments in the history of their homeland.

## Overview of 'Submerged' Epic Poetry

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**I.  
Poems regarded  
as cyclical by  
Albert Severyns  
and listed in his  
classification  
under the heading  
'geste mythique'**

**II.  
Poems not  
analysed by  
Albert Severyns  
and not referable  
to any cycle.  
These poems are  
distinguished by  
clearly defined  
authorial figures  
and the presence  
of historical  
themes alongside  
more traditional  
elements of myth**

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**III.  
Instances of lost  
epics from papyri,  
which may shed  
some light on the  
'submerged' epic  
of the Hellenistic  
period**

- ~~POxy 1.239 (Bacch inv. 21249 = SH 901a (Hero and Leander))~~
  - Pisander of Camirus, *Herakleia*
  - ~~Pisander 41 (Alexandrian epic on Heracles?)~~
  - ~~Pisander 214 (Alexandrian epic on Telephus)~~
  - ~~POxy 30.825 (Alexandrian epic on Philip of Macedon)~~
  - ~~Pisander 2 (Marriage of Peleus and Thetis; Hesiod, Catalogue or Hellenistic poem?)~~
  - POxy 72. 4846 (hexameters on Peleus)
  - POxy 72. 4847 (hexameters on Trojan themes, with reference to Priam)
  - POxy 72. 4848 (hexameters with reference to Amphitrite)
  - POxy 72. 4849 (hexameters with reference to Neoptolemus?)
  - PHeid inv. G 320 a (Hellenistic poem on Heracles, Deianira, Perseus, Eurytos?)
-



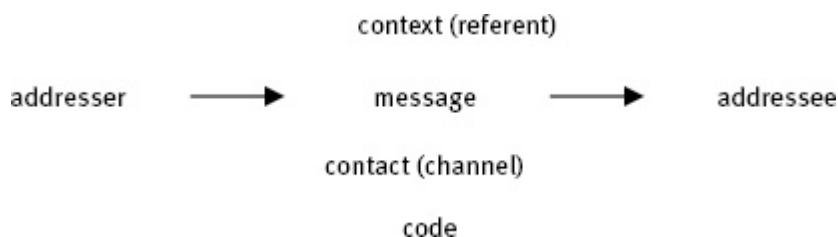
# Two Cases of Submerged Monodic Lyric: Sympotic Poetry and Lullabies

## 1 Introductory remarks

This discussion addresses the submersion of archaic and classical Greek monodic lyrics (a description which includes melic monody, elegy, and iambic poetry). Out of the full list of choral and monodic lyric texts drawn by Riccardo Palmisciano in this volume,<sup>191</sup> however, I shall focus on only two types of monody: sympotic poetry and lullabies.

The term ‘text’ is used here in the sense specified by Andrea Ercolani of ‘any elaboration (oral and/or written) of a message destined to an audience, i.e. intended for an addressee’.<sup>192</sup>

In the linguistic model of Roman Jakobson,<sup>193</sup> communication is described as the transmission of a *message*.



The message (be it, in the instances under consideration, a sympotic poem or a lullaby) is transmitted by a given addresser to a given addressee (an audience), to accomplish some specific purpose (as defined by Jakobson's ‘functions’: e.g. emotive, conative, poetic, referential, etc.). Most importantly, the communication of the message occurs on a given occasion<sup>194</sup> (in the sense described by Ercolani of ‘any social event of collective import’).<sup>195</sup> Occasion, Palmisciano has clarified, is a crucial dimension in our understanding of

the dynamics of submersion, in so far as it is 'the guarantor of the preservation of poetic genres ... As long as there is the occasion, there will be those texts. When there is no longer the occasion, the texts too will disappear'.<sup>196</sup>

Whereas occasion is the instance of the 'publication' of a text (when the text is made public, broadcast to an addressee), we must also consider its composition (the elaboration of the text) and transmission (the mode of its tradition). All three dimensions (composition, transmission, and publication) may be realized in the form of spoken or written communication; however, in the age of archaic and classical monodic lyric, which is to say between the seventh century and the end of the fifth century BCE approximately, the features of ancient Greek culture were those of an 'aural' culture, in the terms proposed by Ong.<sup>197</sup> At that time, therefore, composition and transmission could be oral and/or written, whereas publication only occurred orally. The message in the communication event was intended exclusively for hearing, neither broadcast in writing nor perused by a readership: it is only around the fourth century BCE, at the time of Plato, that publication came to be realized exclusively in the written form, with texts specifically intended for reading. The age of the book had by then supplanted aural culture.<sup>198</sup>

Taking sympotic texts and lullabies as case studies, we are in a position to observe certain facts on the subject of addresser, addressee, and the function of communication, as well as the occasions in which these texts were communicated, composed, and transmitted. This, in turn, enables us to examine the factors at play in the emergence and submersion of the texts in these classes. Submerged texts, as defined by Rossi, are texts which enjoyed scarce transmission, if any at all;<sup>199</sup> *e contrario*, emerged texts are texts which were transmitted. The factors upon which the submersion or emergence of a text over its competitors depended are several and differ according to the many typologies of text, as the studies in this volume show.<sup>200</sup>

Sympotic poetry and lullabies constitute considerably varied instances of monodic texts, notably with regard to the occasion in which the texts in each class were performed. Symposia, as social events, provided the context in which monodic texts (whether in the lyric metre, elegiac distichs, or iambs) were performed – though only within a restricted timeframe (seventh century to the end of the fifth century

BCE): formerly, when in all likelihood there existed some form of proto-symposium that was not entirely independent of the partaking of meals, and especially later, from the fourth century BCE onwards, at the Hellenistic symposia, lyric texts were not a feature at sympotic events. When the sympotic lyric originated, it came to be associated with a pre-existing occasion, which had provided the context for the performance of other texts (the epic). Throughout its existence, the sympotic lyric then co-existed with other types of texts (the epic, and, in fifth-century Athens, also tragic pieces and choral *carmina* performed monodically) which shared with it the same performance occasion (as primary or even secondary occasions). When, finally, the sympotic lyric ceased to exist, it was survived by its occasion. The lullaby, on the other hand, was specifically created for its occasion, not only in ancient Greece, but in all societies. Performed as a bedtime ritual, it remained exclusively bound with its occasion. That bond was never severed, neither in ancient Greece nor elsewhere, so that the lullaby has survived to our own time as a text-typology (although naturally there were transformations in, e.g., the accompanying melodies, the language of composition, wording, situations, etc.).

Let us also note that, in archaic and classical Greece, symposia were very distinct social occasions from the occasions at which choral lyrics were performed: they were restricted to a select audience, namely that of the *hetairia*. The *hetairia*, we should note, was at once the collective addressee of the message and the ensemble of addressers (the individual symposiasts), each of whom would take over from another in performing a text before the remainder of the *hetairoi*: addresser and addressee, thus, largely coincided. The context for lullabies was instead (and has remained) a private, domestic occasion, in which addresser and addressee are distinct figures with set roles: the mother (or other household woman) in a tending role, and the children as recipients of the message. The communication functions are, equally, dissimilar: the sympotic text may have secondary emotive-referential functions, or poetic, or conative (even, simultaneously), whilst its primary function is to extol the group and its values; the function of the lullaby, patently, is primarily conative, aimed at persuading the children to sleep.

Throughout the archaic and classical age, the composition and transmission of sympotic texts could be oral or written, but it is likely that the composition and transmission of

lullabies were solely oral (although the situation may have changed subsequently: in the fifteenth century CE, for instance, lullabies in Greece were composed and transmitted in writing). Finally, the phenomena of submersion and emergence developed in multiple ways, both at the level of text-typologies (sympotic lyrics and lullabies) and at the level of individual texts in each class. By the fourth century BCE, the sympotic text-typology had become submerged entirely, in spite of the survival of its occasion (the symposium); all but a few individual sympotic texts became submerged, whereas a certain number of other texts emerged due to factors we shall investigate. These latter texts were handed down to the Alexandrians and were included in their critical editions. The lullaby has always remained an emerged text-typology (to this day, as a matter of fact), due to the persistence of the occasion to which it attached; in spite of this, all of the individual lullabies produced in the archaic and classical age became submerged, so that none is extant.

## **2 Submerged sympotic poetry (and submerged sympotic poets)**

Luigi Enrico Rossi taught us, in 1979, that the monodic lyric was intended for the symposium,<sup>201</sup> which is to say that symposia are the occasion for which elegiac and iambic texts, and certain monodic melic texts, were composed and executed.

Symposia were protracted after-dinner gatherings at which participants shared several rounds of drink. Symposiasts typically formed select companies (seven or nine participants), and would meet at the private residence of a member or at specially designated chambers inside the temples; in the archaic age, symposiasts were also the members of a political faction (the *hetairia*). Symposia were held for the participants to discuss, tell tales and anecdotes, play games (drinking games and contests, dexterity games with cups or wineskins, etc.); fights could break out, and there might be orgies. There would be a moment, however, reserved for poetry, when all symposiasts, in turn, would recite some verse.<sup>202</sup>

The symposium was a social occasion, and also the occasion for the performance of monodic lyric texts.

Symposia, *qua* occasions for performance, existed before and independently of the texts which became associated with them, and were not conceived (in the way that certain festivals were) for the purpose of specific performances:<sup>203</sup> in Homer, mealtimes and the protosymposia (which for the most part occur in the *Odyssey*)<sup>204</sup> equally presupposed the recitation of epic texts. At some indeterminate later time, lyric texts also began to feature at meals and symposia: we know of Archilochus' recitations at the feasts in Paros and Thasos, (cf his meta-convivial texts, e.g. fr. 4 W.); of Terpander at the Lydian banquets (Athen. 14. 635d-e = Terp. test. 45 Gostoli) and then at Sparta; of Alcman's monodic texts<sup>205</sup> and of Tyrtaeus' elegies, composed for the Spartan *syssitia*; of Alcaeus at the symposia of Mytilene, etc. The age of the lyric lasted from the seventh century BCE to around the end of the fifth/early fourth century BCE, and was intimately connected with the practice of oral composition and performance. As the advent of the book ushered in a novel age, the practice of the oral publication of poetic texts at symposia gave way, as did the grounds for the composition of those texts. On the other hand, the tradition of meals and symposia as social events was continued into the Hellenistic age. With regard to the occasion/poetic text nexus, then, the symposium (the occasion) not only pre-existed, but also survived the texttypology (the monodic lyric) with which it became associated: the demise of the text-typology and of the occasion were, in this case, quite unrelated.

It should also be noted that while lyric texts did at some point become a set feature at feasts (meals/*syssitia* or symposia), this was never at the expense of the epic, which continued to be performed on such occasions<sup>206</sup> (as well as at the rhapsodic *agones*). Lyric texts thus shared the occasion of their performance with epic texts; in fifth-century Athens, furthermore, alongside epic and lyric texts (and choral texts reused and adapted for monodic performance),<sup>207</sup> extracts from the tragedies were also featured.<sup>208</sup> Since occasions of the same type provided the setting for diverse text-typologies, we must conclude that the text/occasion relation was far from univocal (rather complex, in fact) and remains yet to be investigated.<sup>209</sup>

While the practice of performing monodic lyric texts at symposia lasted (ca. seventh-fifth century BCE), the monodic lyric *qua* text-typology remained emergent, since its unbroken transmission was ensured by continued practice. A different

fate, however, befell the scores of individual poetic texts which, over this long course of time, received oral publication at the symposia.

As recent criticism has shown, a poet-symposiast could deliver a performance of three kinds:<sup>210</sup>

- a) he could improvise, in which case the mode of composition was oral and the time of composition coincided with the occasion;
- b) he could deliver a composition devised at leisure in his own home (orally or, more likely, in writing), to be memorized for performance at the symposium, when his turn came;
- c) he could perform a 'reused' text – one not authored by its performer, but by some other composer: it was both convenient and customary for symposiasts to learn a number of texts either orally (at prior symposia) or from written collections, so as not to be caught unawares.

The fact that symposiasts would recite the compositions of others ('re-used' texts) as well as their own (whether improvised or previously composed) tells us some kinds of system for the transmission of sympotic lyric texts must have existed. As for the actual means of the transmission (whether oral, written, or both), that is the object of a debate with which we need not be immediately concerned, although I convene with the majority opinion that sympotic lyric texts were transmitted both orally and in writing.<sup>211</sup> Certain symposiasts certainly had the ability to learn the texts they heard others perform at symposia (thereby ensuring the oral transmission of the lyric): being capable of forming a mnemonic archive in their minds, they could reuse the texts when the opportunity arose, in an act of *de facto* appropriation (against such appropriations, not regimented by any form of intellectual property rights, poets such as Phocylides or Theognis did, in fact, try to intervene, devising some kind of 'brand' or 'seal of authorship'). Still, we must also infer the existence of written archives from the fact that the Alexandrian editions of the lyric poets were produced several centuries after the end of the compositional phase of the symposia, and cannot in any way be explained solely in terms of oral transmission. It is not plausible, for instance, that the at least 10,000 lines of Alcaeus which came down to the Alexandrians (composing an edition in ten papyrus scrolls)<sup>212</sup> were all derived from the oral tradition.<sup>213</sup> Such

written archives would have consisted of episodic annotations (on, e.g., papyrus sheets or *ostraka*) or of large-scale records (as with Alcaeus' 10,000 lines, or Solon's 5,000 reported by Diog. Laert. 1. 61), and were probably diversely motivated (the desire of an individual symposiast to conserve a poem of especial length and complexity; the authorial intent to preserve one's own compositions; the decision of a sympotic collective to record the poetic output of its gatherings, and so on).<sup>214</sup> The fact remains that the existence of written texts, whether several or few, constituted a system of conservation which ran parallel with mnemonic archives, allowing for the written transmission of lyric texts.

Given that sympotic texts must have been transmitted orally and in writing (leaving us to speculate as to the modes and frequency of the interaction of orality and writing) over the course of three centuries of Greek symposia, which of the countless texts performed may we brand 'submerged' and 'emerged'? While some were transmitted orally from symposiast to symposiast, from symposium to symposium, from *hetairia* to *hetairia*, and from town to town, and while certain others (notably in the instance of the great collections of Alcaeus, Solon, and others) benefited from a written tradition, the lifespan of most sympotic texts must have been confined to the fleeting and unique moment of their impromptu performance: unwritten and not memorized by anyone, they were immediately submerged. Let us imagine that in the course of a particular symposium some thirty texts were performed: some (not all) would have been memorized by a few (though not all) symposiasts, and some might be transcribed; the remainder, not graced by like attention, was condemned to oblivion. We thus have a situation in which a large body of texts (namely the ones that were not transmitted by any means), was submerged while, we should note, the text-*typology* of which they were instances was still an emergent poetic form. Since the surviving texts are only the ones originally transmitted either orally or in writing, we may conclude that, for as long as that text-*typology* remained a living form, the submersion or emergence of individual texts was governed by their written or mnemonic archival storage with an end to reusage: in the final instance, then, re-usage is the crucial factor of conservation.<sup>215</sup>

When, in the fourth century, poetry ceased to be a feature of the symposia, the symposium remained in place as social event: *qua* occasion, the symposium survived, but the specific

occasion for monodic poetry *within* the symposium was discontinued. Only at that stage did the text-typology of sympotic poetry cease to be transmitted, and was entirely submerged. At the level of individual texts, those which had been recorded in writing were in a condition to survive (to remain emergent), whereas mnemonic archives sooner or later faded out of existence (being no longer performed, the chain of transmission also broke down). We may identify this stage as a further phase in the submersion of the texts, determined by the demise of their correlate occasion: unlike the texts that were transmitted in writing, those that had remained emergent by way of oral transmission gradually became submerged. The governing factor in the emergence or submersion of texts was, at this stage, their prior archival storage in writing. Of all the texts so transmitted, those included into large collections had better chances of escaping later submersion, as opposed to the ones that were object of sporadic annotation.

As a matter of fact, no sympotic texts were safe from submersion (not even when they were included in large collections and enjoyed some form of tradition subsequent to the end of their occasion), unless their circulation brought them to fifth-century Athens. Why is it, for instance, that we have a noteworthy collection of the poems of Alcaeus (the 10,000 lines of the Alexandrian edition), but no collection of Pittacus (who was known in antiquity by only 600 elegiac lines)?<sup>216</sup> And why would it be that nothing is known of the poems produced in the *milieu* of the tyrant Melanchrus, or by the *hetairia* of the tyrant Myrsilus? These four *hetairiai* doubtlessly produced poetic texts at their symposia, which for the most part became submerged: after the *hetairia* had disbanded, discontinuing the occasion for composition and performance, only written records could ensure the initial survival of the texts (failing which, submersion would be immediate). In the longer term, however, written records alone could not suffice: reception of the texts at Athens constituted the crucial moment in the tradition, due to the unique cultural position of Athens in the fifth century (a position later to be taken over by Alexandria). The collection of poems attributed to Alcaeus did eventually reach Athens<sup>217</sup> (unlike other collections from Mytilene that might have been compiled), and escaped submersion for that reason alone, surviving into the ten-book Alexandrian edition, and moving on to a lengthy history of written transmission. A further



example is the seventh-century collection of elegies produced by a *hetairia* at Colophon, associated with the name of Mimnermus. We know the collection circulated through several Greek poleis, because its presence is recorded at Athens as early as the late seventh-early sixth century BCE,<sup>218</sup> and at Megara in the sixth century.<sup>219</sup> I believe we can assume that the same collection should also have reached Sparta at about that time, since Sparta was an especially lively centre of cultural activities in its archaic phase, whose exchanges with both Athens and Megara are well documented (in the same way that the elegies of Tyrtaeus, the Spartan, were known to the *hetairia* of Theognis).<sup>220</sup> It stands to reason, then, that the *hetairiai* of, e.g., Thebes, Corinth, and Argos (known to have had exchanges with Athens and Megara) should also have performed the texts of Mimnermus at their symposia. At the same time, however, only Athens proved decisive to the ends of the subsequent survival of the collection. While written texts did initially remain emergent as their designated occasion waned, their survival could only be temporary. What ultimately decided between final submersion or continuing emergence was their arrival and circulation at Athens.

Going back to Rossi's definition of submerged texts as 'texts which were mistreated *from the very beginning of their transmission*, and even texts which *were not transmitted at all*',<sup>221</sup> we may note that the sympotic texts which were not reused while the occasion of their performance lasted are, to all effects, texts which had *no* transmission. The texts which became submerged following the demise of their occasion within the symposia are texts which were mistreated in the early stage of their transmission; and the same can be said of those which initially did emerge, but never reached Athens (somehow becoming submerged along the way). The distinction between 'submersion' and 'loss' should also be apparent: texts which emerged from every wave of submersion and were duly transmitted, but failed to reach us due to later accidents in the manuscript tradition, we define 'lost'. To use Alcaeus as an example, although 10,000 lines of his production had, at one time, emerged and were arranged into a collection, and although the collection enjoyed solid manuscript tradition, only a few lines ultimately survived, and only by way of indirect tradition; the vast majority was lost.

It follows from Rossi's intuition that our accounts of ancient Greek culture need to be revised by factoring in the

submerged dimension of textual production, since handbooks of 'Greek Literature' to date have only represented and discussed the emerged component. Rossi has shown that although submerged texts are no longer available for scrutiny, they did, at one time, exist nonetheless; and their existence needs to be reckoned with somehow. Beyond thinking that the 10,000 lines in the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus had at one time been recited at the symposia celebrated by the *hetairia* of Alcaeus, we must also be reminded that they did not stand alone, and that several thousand other lines of verse, irremediably lost to us, resounded among those same symposiasts – some for just the brief span of their one and only performance; others to be 'reused' over successive symposia. Of the countless texts of poetry produced over three centuries of symposia, a great many never entered the chain of transmission and were neglected from the start; others were briefly transmitted through re-usage and writing; others still were even included in extensive collections of texts, though ultimately only the texts included in the collections that arrived at Athens emerged definitively (although these too suffered severe losses in the course of subsequent transmission, with only the collection of the Theognidean *corpus* surviving by way of direct tradition). Emerged texts represent only a minor section of a cultural domain which was mostly submerged. It would be inaccurate and misleading, however, to ignore the existence of the submerged part.

Alongside submerged texts, we must also appreciate the extent to which the poets themselves became submerged. The audience of sympotic texts was the *hetairia* (in the archaic age at least),<sup>222</sup> whose members were at the same time addressers of the texts, which they delivered in turn, according to the disposition of their reclining beds.<sup>223</sup> Our handbooks of 'Greek Literature' have promoted a notion of authorship centred on the poet as individual (Archilochus, Alcaeus, Solon, etc.) at the expense of the surrounding *hetairiai*. If we forget that the symposia were celebrated by *hetairiai*, whose members were all reciters of poetry, we engender the misapprehension that Alcaeus, say, was the only poet in his *hetairia*, although that was certainly not the case. Theognis provides an enlightening instance: we have a collection of little more than 1,400 lines that go under his name, which already circulated at Athens under that same attribution in the fifth century BCE.<sup>224</sup> Critics have shown that

several strings of poems in the collection form sequences (the so-called 'sympotic pairs' and 'sympotic chains') which cannot reasonably be attributed to Theognis alone. Although the *corpus* still goes under his name, several voices other than his own emerge: they are the voices of the other symposiasts in the *hetairia* to which Theognis also belonged, and all of them were poets in their own right.<sup>225</sup> The Theognidean *corpus*, properly regarded, must be seen to incorporate not just Theognis' poems (who casts himself at line 22 as the author of the elegy of the 'seal'), but also, in all likelihood, the poems of other symposiasts, whose names are known to us through addresses made in several texts in the *corpus*: Simonides (ll. 469, 667, 1349), Onomacritus (l. 503), Democles (l. 923), Akademos (l. 993), Timagoras (l. 1059), Demonax (l. 1085). Although their names sporadically appear in the texts, *qua* poets they were all submerged and never featured in the manuscript tradition (it is also possible, by the same token, that other unnamed *hetairoi* contributed to the collection, whose very names were thus submerged).

Particularly in the instance of lyric collections from the archaic age, the authority to whom the poems were traditionally ascribed has been sometimes interpreted as embodying a set of values – a figure whose name stood as marker for a subsequent tradition of poetry, striving to conform to its (possibly fictitious) model author. Each lyric collection is thus to be regarded as an anthology in which the traditional author features alongside his several eponymous imitators,<sup>226</sup> all of whom remained otherwise anonymous (submerged, in our terms). On the strength of my remarks on Theognis, I would not *a priori* rule out the notion that the collections attributed to individual lyricists incorporated the work of his milieu, his fellow *hetairoi*/symposiasts. On this account, Alcaeus' 10,000 lines collection should be taken to contain not only the texts of Alcaeus, but of Alcaeus and his companions; it would be the work not of the author Alcaeus, but of a milieu, which is to say his *hetairia*. A matter of this extent cannot be broached here: it demands, *inter alia*, that we account for the reasons and manner whereby anthologies should have come to be ascribed to a single author. For the time being, I shall state the case that under both interpretations (one I deem less likely: the author as devised by a later tradition; one I favour: the multi-authored production of a *hetairia*), the name of the purported author (Alcaeus, Solon, Theognis, etc.) be taken to stand for one out

of several authors (fellow *hetairoi* and/or later imitators) of the texts in the collection. The author whose name marks the collection, then, is to be regarded as having emerged over all others (on account of dynamics to be established case by case), submerging the rest.

### 3 Submerged lullabies

Since none of the lullabies composed in Greek antiquity (but let us confine the discussion to archaic and classical Greece) has come down to us, they can be singled out as a signal case of submersion: no lullaby of those ages had any lasting tradition, and all were submerged entirely.

Several documents, however, attest the existence of lullabies: we can be in no doubt as to the existence of texts of this typology. We find the oldest attestation in the *Danae Fragment* by Simonides (PMG 543), a scene in which Danae cries over her sleeping son Perseus and wishes that the immeasurable seas and evils will also sleep (ll 21–22). Properly regarded, this is not a lullaby but an oblique reference to such texts: her son is already asleep, and no lullaby is therefore called for. In Soph. *Phil.* 827–864 we find an invocation to Sleep sung by the chorus which is somewhat comparable to a lullaby. Plato (*Leg.* 7. 790d–e) informs us that women, when they wish to induce unquiet children to sleep, rock them in their arms and sing to them, instead of being silent. In Theocr. 24. 7–9 we find a hexameter rendition of the lullaby sung by Alcmena to Heracles and his brother; this is manifestly the translation into hexameters of a lyric piece, attesting to Alexandrian interest in text-typologies that received little or no authorial treatment at the hand of the poets of previous generations.<sup>227</sup> There are very few other attestations, and the Greek term for lullaby (βαυκάλημα ‘baukalema’ and its variants) rarely occurs.<sup>228</sup> Because no text of any such description are extant, it is impossible for us to establish the features of the lullaby of archaic and classical Greece.<sup>229</sup>

The occasion for the performance of lullabies is domestic: the performance of a lullaby is a private matter, confined to the family sphere; further, we may be reasonably certain that this text-typology was the prerogative of women alone (only of late have fathers taken an interest in child-rearing). The occasion demands the execution of a text, which is to say of a

message sent by an addresser to an addressee, for a specific purpose: in seeing to the task of putting the children to sleep (usually, though not only, at evening time), the mother, or the slave-nurse, or elder sister produces a text which has an actual addressee and an patently conative function (the woman wants the children to be persuaded into sleep, a function brought into relief by the singular or plural imperative forms of the verb 'sleep' which occur in Simonides and Theocritus, as well as innumerable lullabies of all times). Over several centuries, the male and female Greeks of antiquity heard their mother or nurse sing them a lullaby: this must have been a cardinal experience for all Greeks – probably, I might provokingly say, to a far greater extent than the performance of an epincian ode by Simonides or Pindar (a privilege of many, though certainly not of all the Greeks of all times); and yet, the text of no lullaby has survived.

Lullabies set before us an extreme, *quasi* paradoxical instance of submersion: from the archaic age down to this day, the occasion of their performance has repeated itself constantly; the lullaby as text-typology has also remained emergent throughout, not only in ancient Greece but among several cultures; and yet, in spite of this, the individual texts were all submerged. What might have failed, then, causing their submersion, is the production of written archives of the texts.<sup>230</sup>

As we have said, the lullabies of ancient Greece were sung by women, the majority of whom were illiterate.<sup>231</sup> The composition of lullabies would therefore have been oral, not written.<sup>232</sup> We may furthermore suppose that, in some instances, the lullabies were improvised on the spot, once again orally, or were variations on known songs. Their transmission would also be oral: it is common experience that lullabies are addressed not only at infants, but also children of three, or four, or more years of age, who may thus learn them and commit them to memory through continued iteration; they may also be learned by older girls and young women who witness the performance of lullabies by mothers and nurses. Given the mode of solely oral transmission, while the text-typology is continually revived, the individual texts, instead, are either transmitted for a number of generations (only to be later replaced by others created *ex novo*), or are subject to such variations as to gradually transform into entirely different texts. In the absence of written records (possibly deemed unnecessary, and at any rate not available

to illiterate women), most texts necessarily failed to consolidate into a set form at any moment in their transmission, and all, at any rate, were condemned to submersion.<sup>233</sup>

I wish to end my discussion with some remarks on authorship and the 'folk' nature of lullabies. Ingrid Waern, who produced the only study specifically devoted to lullabies, has maintained that this class of poems, usually qualified 'folk' poetry, ought rather to be defined 'anonymous'.<sup>234</sup> The notion that folk and oral poetry is 'anonymous' has been rightly challenged by Ruth Finnegan, on the grounds of the argument that anonymity only intervenes secondarily. There is an initial phase, among restricted groups of individuals, in which the authorship of the texts is well known even when the texts are by a third party. On occasion, a text authored by a third party may indeed be performed with the explicit consent of its author.<sup>235</sup> Lullabies too would have had their own (female) author-creator, and even when they were performed by someone other than their author (a nurse, or the author's daughters or relatives), authorship could not have been an issue at doubt. There could be no call for any woman to want to pass as her own, and thus appropriate, the lullaby devised or performed by another: certainly, the private and domestic nature of the occasion could not inspire any motive for unlicensed appropriation (there were, for instance, no *agones* in connection with this text-typology). Nor, on the other hand, should we imagine that, in the event of unwarranted appropriation, there would be a call for the legitimate author to reclaim authorship, given that such preoccupations would be entirely overridden by the primary conative function of the text (viz. to send the children to sleep). Besides, if the urge was not felt to identify the author of a sympotic text in archaic and classical Greece<sup>236</sup> (where a measure of *agonistic* attitude did hold among the symposiasts who took turns in performance), less so can we suppose that any such concerns would have held in the domestic domain of women with regard to such pragmatically motivated texts as lullabies were. This does not contradict the general statement that within the confined group of the women in a household the authorship of a lullaby would have been common knowledge, in the sense that all of the women were bound to know who had devised it. In the way that no woman would feel motivated to appropriate another's lullaby, the original author, conversely, would see no reason to secure authorship

of her own composition: it is reasonable to suppose that women simply felt quite at liberty to perform the lullabies of others, with the tacit consent of the author. The anonymous status of lullabies (understood as a loss of information with regard to authorship) would have supervened as time passed, and the texts were transmitted to a third or fourth generation, and the names of the original authors faded from memory, and no reason was ever seen to recover them. I shall add the further remark, at any rate, that in the instance of lullabies, alongside the complete absence of extant texts, we also witness, as would be expected, the complete submersion of their authors: no name has left any trace whatsoever.

The classification of lullabies as 'folk poetry' raises further issues, both complex and difficult to address: I refer the reader to a study by Riccardo Palmisciano entitled 'È mai esistita la poesia popolare nella Grecia antica?' which concludes with the remark that it is feasible to 'apply the term 'folk' to those classes of poems which were strictly bound to an occasion of ethnologic character, and which never arose to the rank of authorial eminence'.<sup>237</sup> Lullabies represent one of the few instances of text-typologies (together with labour songs, for instance) that appear to fit this description<sup>238</sup>.

## **Dramatic Actions from Archaic Iconographic Sources: the Domain of the *Satyricon***<sup>239</sup>

μιμήματα τρόπων ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χορείας, ἐν  
πράξεσιν τε παντοδαπαῖς γιγνόμενα καὶ τύχαις, καὶ  
ἤθεσι καὶ μιμήσεσι διεξιόντων ἐκάστων  
Plat. *Leg.* 655d

A most fertile terrain for the investigation of submerged Greek culture is to be found in the heterogeneous domain of expressive forms we may describe as 'dramatic actions', which is to say those forms of communication in which studied body movements were invested with a primary signifying role. These movements could be accompanied by a musical performance, and the music could in turn be co-ordinated with the recitation of a poetic text. The performers might wear such disguises as facial make-up, masks, costumes, and the performances take place within a space demarcated, and possibly designed and furnished, for the event.

The simultaneous presence of all of the above-mentioned elements defines the complex expressive code of Greek drama from the classical age to the end of antiquity. But before theatre performances stabilized in the form with which we are familiar, the Greeks had practised an extensive repertoire of mimic arts which we may more fully appreciate by renewing our attention to literary and especially to archaeological and iconographic sources.

When we approach the texts and take into account all of the elements involved in the system of communication, and when we relate the system of communication to the requirements of a given occasion, what emerges with particular force with regard to all poetic forms, independently of genre, is the constitutive bond between verbal art and its realization as spectacle. Due to the habit of reasoning in terms of codified



literary genres, we incline to regard as dramatic only such genres as are designated for the stage; but in a culture of oral performance as archaic Greek culture was, audiences partook in poetic recitation by *watching* as much as by *listening*, and poetic texts, accordingly, were not just *enunciated*, but *enacted*. We must therefore consider mimic acts and the more refined forms of drama as particular instances of the overall system into which the 'poetic spectacle' articulated.

These preliminary remarks equally hold for what may be regarded as the 'zero degree' of the poetic spectacle – namely the solo performance of the Homeric *aoidos* who, to the accompaniment of his string instrument, delivers a narrative piece whilst remaining in sight of his audience.<sup>240</sup> The visibility of the *aoidos* was one precondition for establishing an empathetic bond with the audience, leading to interaction and participation as the *composition in performance* unfolded. Depending on circumstance, the *aoidos* could produce himself in more sophisticated recitations in which the visual dimension was more fully exploited. In book 8 of the *Odyssey*, two distinct types of performance are delivered by the *aoidos* Demodocus: while the first and third conform to the epic genre (the 'zero degree' of the poetic spectacle), in the second, the *Loves of Ares and Aphrodite*, the musical and poetic component is organically related to a mimetic dance act (with an acrobatic *coda*).<sup>241</sup> The constitutive elements in the representation of the *aoidos*' performance in the *Odyssey* are alone sufficient to indicate we cannot be too rigid in classifying performances by type, and that, in our assessment of the complex of Greek performative arts, we need to evaluate the insights afforded by each performance case-by-case.

If a Homeric *aoidos* could be at the centre of an action at once choreutic and mimic, more marked still was the dramatic character of choral performances, which is to say the complex of poetic events in which the language of the body, music, and poetry were fused into a unified spectacle. Vase-depictions from the late-geometric period of the archaic age present us with a remarkably varied panorama of choreutic acts: complex choreographies; poets and musicians in association with performing groups; ensembles of musicians and acrobatic dancers; processions; and mimic acts involving costumes and various disguises are the frequent object of vase-depictions, providing invaluable iconographic documentation about the cultural phenomenon of spectacles

in Greece.<sup>242</sup> We learn from these figurative representations that dramatic acts, in the broadest sense, were frequently staged in the public and the private sphere alike: we see choreographies and mime acts set in open spaces as well as the more exclusive context of the symposium and the *komos*, where the acts of satyrs and *padded dancers* recur frequently.<sup>243</sup> In the field of modern literary studies, scholars receptive to the multi-faceted nature of choral performance in Greece have explored the links between choral poetry, rituals, and mime acts.<sup>244</sup> These studies have produced results in line with the sources of antiquity which emphasize the interrelations of dramatic culture and choral performance, marking aspects of continuity and proximity in performative practice, as well as functional affinities. The marked mimetic character of choral genres such as the hyporchema was described by the commentators of antiquity,<sup>245</sup> nor is it a coincidence that the term *choros* should have designated the space in which a mimetic *performance* took place,<sup>246</sup> before it was applied to choral song and, by extension, works of drama. Throughout the fifth century BCE, to 'assign the chorus' was the common phrase for permission to bring a drama on stage, whereas the phrase 'request the chorus' to the Archon indicated intent to take part in the dramatic *agones*.<sup>247</sup> The dramatic genres of which we are better informed, e.g. satyr drama, tragedy, and comedy, are descended from this varied complex of choral acts, and the ancients themselves (Aristot. *Poet.* 1449a 9–14 *in primis*) were aware of the links which tied the more recent forms of drama to more remote choral forms.

Not even the use of masks was exclusive to theatrical genres: certain religious functions involved orchestric/mimic performances featuring masks and other disguises. Gruesome masks were worn at the sanctuary of Orthia, at Sparta, where the rites were celebrated in an area designed to hold for a large audience.<sup>248</sup> At the Arcadian town of Lycosura, the cult of the local divinity Despoina, celebrated at a sanctuary which contained a theatre-like structure, also involved the wearing of ritual masks.<sup>249</sup> The zoomorphic masks of Lycosura, we may further note, closely resemble the archaic-age Cypriot figurines, represented in the act of wearing or laying down their bull- or deer-like masks.<sup>250</sup> At Brauron, the initiation ritual of young Attic women was officiated by costumed characters who bore the mask of the she-bear sacred to Artemis.<sup>251</sup> At Pheneus, in the sanctuary of Demeter Kidaria, a mask representing the goddess was worn during the

invocation of the underworld deities (Paus. 8. 15. 3).<sup>252</sup> We cannot but take the close interrelation of masked appearances with religious rituals as a theme to be carefully investigated, especially since these ritual aspects of theatre performance survived into later ages.<sup>253</sup> All theatres in Attica, we should remember, were part of a religious setting and co-existed with an adjacent place of worship. Theatre performances took place *after* the ritual sacrifices to Dionysus, and the festival would open *after* a solemn procession, which constituted, in fact, one of the most significant spectacular events in the celebrations. The processions were an integral moment of all religious festivities, and in some instances involved some element of dramatic performance.<sup>254</sup> At the processions to the Eleusinian sanctuary of Demeter, in Attica, pilgrims performed choral songs and mimic actions and were subjected to the jocular verbal attacks and diverse obscenities of masked personages while crossing a bridge.<sup>255</sup> Along the itinerary from Miletus to the sanctuary of Didyma, the procession held for the Thargelia would stop six times for the intonation of a paean to the statues of the deities. Details of this particular celebration can be gleaned from an inscription in which is recorded the protocol of the *μολποί*, the choristers who officiated the performances in Apollo's honour.<sup>256</sup> Comparable, after a fashion, to the Holy Week processions of Roman Catholic rite, these six *stationes* read as an unmistakeable sign of the interrelation between processional rites and mimic/choral performances (making it is plausible to suppose that at each stop in the procession the chorus would somehow enact the sung texts).

In order to understand mimic performances in their several contexts, each of the aspects mentioned above, and several more, would require individual studies within the critical framework of submergence. I only hope to have outlined with sufficient clarity the context for this *case study*, devoted to a small masterpiece of ancient ceramic art: the Attic aryballos produced by Nearchus around the years 570–550 BCE, now held at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>257</sup> I believe a considerable amount of information is to be found encrypted in artefacts such as Nearchus' aryballos, and that a renewed examination of ritual and performative scenes in iconographic and archaeological sources would yield invaluable, and even surprising, documentation regarding the submerged world of dramatic performances before the advent

of fifth-century theatre. My analysis of the painted scenes on this remarkable vase is thus intended to provide evidence of the correlations between the iconography of the aryballos and the *satyrikon*, the mimic acts performed by characters disguised as satyrs. In this specific regard, the vase has received insufficient attention: generally neglected by philologists, it was examined by archaeologists from different angles than the study of ancient drama.<sup>258</sup>

The small vessel, only 7.8 cm tall, is decorated with multicoloured spirals on the body and shoulder, and has detailed miniature depictions on the lip and handle (figs 1-4). The flat band around the lip shows a battle of cranes and pygmies, with nonsensical words interspersed across the scene; on the back of the handle, three satyr figures (one in the characteristic frontal view), are intent on masturbating (their names, we shall see, are closely connected with the act in which they engage). The sides of the handle are adorned with images of Hermes and Perseus, whose names appear in the midst of more gibberish. On the top of the handle are two Tritons.

For such a small surface, there is remarkable figurative complexity. I would thus like to begin from a detail that seems to me of plain interpretation in the representation of the two satyrs in profile – namely that the artist took pains to signal that two of the figures on the handle are in fact men in satyr costumes, and not genuine satyrs: the thick body hairs neatly cut off at the neck, in a clearly visible costume seam (fig. 5).<sup>259</sup> The satyr faces, accordingly, can only be masks.

Naturally, this reading raises questions: who would these men in satyrdress be, and what setting may we construe for their action? Is there any meaningful relation among the several figures on the aryballos? What purpose does the scattering of inscriptions serve?

The appearance on black-figure ceramics of characters in satyr costume is not, in itself, a complete novelty. Although there are few uncontroversial examples, it is equally true that considered attention to such iconographic particulars is only a recent development. (A regrettable fact, we should say, since these artefacts appear to hold a wealth of invaluable information for the study of sixth-century BCE dramatic actions: one should hope that, especially as an effect of the ease of access to electronic catalogues and images, pertinent examples will increase steadily in the near future.) Let us begin our discussion with confirmed representations of satyr

disguises.

A dinos fragment attributed to Sophilus (fig. 6),<sup>260</sup> a painter whose acme can be dated around 580 BCE, shows an ithyphallic satyr in the distinctive righthanded hold on his phallus, clutching a fleeing nymph in elaborate dress by the arm. Interestingly, the satyr's characteristic hirsuteness cuts off at both wrists, in a cuff represented by two faint lines. The interpretation of this iconographic detail may be confirmed by contrast with another dinos fragment (either contemporary or slightly earlier than the previous, and also attributed to Sophilus),<sup>261</sup> in which a kantharos-bearing satyr is clearly represented as having hands as hairy as the body. While in the one instance Sophilus depicted a man dressed as satyr, in the other he gave us the genuine article.

In an unattributed fragment from Naukratis (fig. 7),<sup>262</sup> painted soon after 600 BCE in the early manner of black-figure ceramics, a right-facing satyr's head appears, playing on an aulos. Here too, the body hairs cut off at the neck, with two horizontal lines representing a seam.

On the two sides of an Attic black-figure cup from Vulci (ca. 530 BCE),<sup>263</sup> we have a satyr in front view, seated between a huge pair of eyes and playing on an aulos. This scene appears twice on the same vase, and in both instances we manifestly do not have a satyr, but a man in satyr costume, whose feet patently stick out of a hairy costume reaching down to the ankles and ending in the three horizontal lines of a seam. One of the illustrations, indeed, shows a shortsleeved costume which leaves the character's hairless arms exposed.

If we align these illustrations with Nearchus' aryballos, the result is a *micro-corpus* of four vase depictions from the first seven decades of the sixth century BCE, all of which show characters in satyr costume as they engage in musicplaying and erotic feats. Alongside this (admittedly narrow) repertoire, there are, however, vases in which the same acts are performed by seemingly genuine satyrs. Some may, at close inspection, lend themselves to the interpretation of costumed humans; others may portray mimic actions without emphasizing the presence of characters in satyr costume, but rather the satyresque nature of the featured characters.<sup>264</sup> I will confine the discussion to only two examples. On the shoulder of a Boeotian black-figure trick vase<sup>265</sup> from ca.530 BCE we see an elaborately dressed aulos player (fig. 8); seven figures forming a circle around the vase engage in komastic sexual activities, as the presence of a krater helps clarify. The

eight characters (seven komasts and the flute-player) are arranged in facing pairs, and exchange proffers of wine and sexual acts (I incline to regard as unambiguous two couples: one in which one individual touches the other's chin, and one in which a drinking horn pointing to a komast's buttocks seems to suggest alternative usages for the horn); one couple, slightly larger in scale, is formed by masturbating satyrs. In the absence of objective evidence that the larger-scale satyrs are in fact humans in costume, the engagement of all eight characters in a coordinated joint performance, and the presence of two actual satyrs, is at any rate indicative of the satyresque nature of an action in which humans and satyrs are alike involved.

A clearer example is provided by the Attic black-figure decorations on a Tyrrhenian neck amphora from the second quarter of the sixth century BCE (fig. 9).<sup>266</sup> The uppermost frieze represents a scene which suggests coordinated, rather than spontaneous, action. Four couples, each formed by a satyr and a woman, occupy the scene: all four satyrs are ithyphallic, holding their phallus in the right hand, and each faces the woman before him. Two of the women have their hands to their head and buttocks prominent; each of the other two has more explicitly lifted her dress to expose the buttocks to her satyr-companion, who appears to wear a peculiar costume. The two costumes differ only in colour: both are short-sleeved one-piece garments covering the torso and groin; they seem to suggest some kind of disguise, and are reminiscent of the costume of Corinthian komasts, without the belly and buttocks padding. Here too, all eight figures join in a choreography of sorts, although we may identify two subgroups on account of posture and acts: in the first, the satyrs are uniformly coated and the women have their buttocks covered; in the second, the satyrs wear a coloured costume and the women are lifting up their their dress. These scenes, I would argue, are not to be interpreted as actual group sex, since the group dynamics are not in the least spontaneous; they are regimented, rather, into a mimic pattern of action.

Among the archaic vase-decorations seemingly modelled on mimic acts (in which the action is so stylized as to suggest choreographed sequence), none compares in detail and complexity with Nearchus' aryballos. We should examine this vessel more closely, starting from the handle.

The scene of the masturbating human-satyrs is, as for

dimensions, collocation, and artistic refinement, the one of greatest prominence. The three figures form a semicircle, and seem engaged in a coordinated act. The two satyrs in profile (Δόφιος to the left, Φοῶλας to the right)<sup>267</sup> are disposed symmetrically at either side of their squatting companion (Τερπέκελος), who, after an iconography common with satyr-depictions, is placed dead centre, staring right ahead. It thus occurs that by looking directly at the satyrs, the spectator is unwittingly involved in closing their semicircle and completing a circular arrangement that is independent of the other scenes. None of the characters on the lip or on the sides of the handle appears to interact with the satyrs in any form, and Perseus and Hermes are actually seen to look away, towards the battle of cranes and Pygmies. Unrelated to the rest, the aryballos satyr-scene is so significant that Nearchus's signature appears directly below, against a designated dark field that interrupts the geometric sequence of spirals: Νέαρχος | ἐποίῃσέν με.<sup>268</sup>As a complement to the minutely detailed scene are the inscriptions. The satyrs have telling names, harmonized with the gist of their action: Dophius stems from the unequivocal verb δέφω;<sup>269</sup> Psolas from ψωλή 'membrum virile preputio retracto',<sup>270</sup> in the phrasing of *LSJ*; Terpekelus, finally, is plausibly a reference to *Il.* 5. 759 f., where it is said of Aphrodite and Apollo that ἔκηλοι τέρπονται.<sup>271</sup> The name of this satyr is carefully positioned, parallel to the upper margin of the frame, and neatly lettered: being the most clearly legible, it reinforces Terpekelus' primacy of place. Next to Dophius runs the retrograde inscription χάρει, a mirror to the satyrs' state of mind. The three brief inscriptions placed next to Psolas, finally, are gibberish: interjections of triumphant elation, bridging towards the nonsense words of other scenes. In short, the satyrs on the handle compose an explicit choreography of sexual activity – a scene that comes alive whenever the names of the human-satyrs or the other inscriptions are read aloud. Indeed, we must always remember that reading was a sounding experience in antiquity: reading out loud, as was customary, the names of the three satyr-characters, the aryballos owner (or any other person handling the vase) would conjure an animated scene whose protagonists hailed each other – Psolas crying out his pleasure, and Terpekelus exclaiming 'Dophius is turned on'.<sup>272</sup>

The inscriptions in the remaining scenes are equally significant. On the left side of the handle we find Perseus,



gazing rightward, and the inscription Περσέ|υς ηευ|σει. On the opposite side, on the right of the handle, is Hermes, also gazing rightward, and the inscription ηερμῆς ηοδι τελ. Finally, on the lip of the vessel, the battling Pygmies and cranes are intervalled by short, nonsense inscriptions: ριο (retr.), θ[-]αυασ (retr.), κρο, καλ (retr.), χοσ, αρυσ, ρορυ, θεν, ακι, ρε, θοι (retr.), βαυσ, πυ, οαι. With the exception of the character names and the expression χαίρει, all inscriptions seem patent gibberish. Attempts to seek meaning for these sounds have proven unsuccessful,<sup>273</sup> though I cannot see that such fragmented speech need be brought into the realm of meaning. That the Pygmies and cranes should utter animal cries and the sounds of an unknown language accords with the scene, which seems carefully laid out in all respects, distribution of the utterances included. Let us not forget the adroit collocation of the artist's signature, and the apposite use of writing in the places where words are meant to be meaningful: enough to rule out the use of lettering for merely decorative purposes. The letters' orientation seems also carefully planned, so that wherever rightward and leftward inscriptions face each other, they institute a dialogue of sorts between the nearby characters, who thus appear linked to each other by the 'lines' they utter. Equally pertinent are the nonsense words in the proximity of Perseus and Hermes, who, as mentioned, seem involved with the battle scene and thus are intent on the sounds and voices originating therefrom. On the other hand, the satyrs' exclamations on the front of the handle are fully appropriate to the action and meaningful, but in an autonomous context relative to the rest.

What remains to be established is the logic of the juxtaposition, in the figurative band of the aryballos, between the self-standing scene of the eloquently named characters in satyr-costume and the more extensive scene of the battling Pygmies and cranes.

It is not so difficult as would seem to establish the system of relations among the several characters in the various scenes. First of all, there is a substantial literary tradition relating Hermes and satyrs. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (5. 262–263) it is said that the silenoi and Hermes band together to have sexual encounters with the nymphs in mountain caves. In the first section of the *Catalogue of Women* (which of late has been made available in an ampler version thanks to the Leiden papyrus) are named the descendants of Dorus. In the persuasive reconstruction of the papyrus' first



editors,<sup>274</sup> Dorus begat five daughters from the daughter of Phoroneus (Strab. 10. 3. 19); one of these, named Iphtime, coupled with Hermes and generated the nymphs, satyrs, and Curetes.<sup>275</sup> The satyrs would thus be the sons of Hermes, philandering together with their father, as the *Homeric Hymn* recites. Alternatively, there are also iconographic records of satyrs making fun of Hermes: Carpenter has pointed out a red-figure psykter by Duris, with a scene of a satyr dressed up as Hermes and holding a *kerykeion*, while his companions cavort and carouse around him.<sup>276</sup>

As for the link with Perseus, several mythical accounts feature Hermes (either with Athena, or in her stead) assisting Perseus: Hermes first directs Perseus to the Graeae to equip himself for the quest of the Gorgon,<sup>277</sup> and the *harpe* with which Perseus severs the head of Medusa is, likewise, supplied by Hermes.<sup>278</sup> The two are also frequently represented together in illustrations relating to Perseus' saga, starting from the sixth century BCE.<sup>279</sup>

To establish the connection between Perseus and the Pygmies, instead, we need only turn to Homer (*Il.* 3. 2-7), who located the land of the Pygmies along the banks of the river Ocean. In this passage, the war-cry of the Trojan army is likened to the shriek of cranes, who in wintertime migrate to the banks of the Ocean to wage war on the Pygmies.<sup>280</sup> Strabo, furthermore (1. 2. 27), drew upon the ancient opinions of the Greeks and referred to the southernmost region of the earth bordering on the Ocean as Ethiopia. It is here that the main quests of Perseus are set: Herodotus (2. 91) claims that the beheading of Medusa took place in Libya, and describes the journey to Egypt supposedly undertaken by Perseus in order to exhibit the *gorgoneion* in the city of Chemnis, from which his family originated. A scholium to Pindar further relates that some sources located the dwelling place of the Gorgons in Ethiopia, and others at the border with Libya.<sup>281</sup>

According to other sources, Perseus travelled to Ethiopia after the slaying of Medusa,<sup>282</sup> which is where he met Cepheus, king of the Ethiopians, and fell in love with Andromeda, the king's daughter – a sequence of events leading to the killing of the sea-monster. As we can see, there are several elements in the legends surrounding Perseus providing a cogent link with a battle of Pygmies and cranes, as in Nearchus' *aryballos*. One decorative detail in the *aryballos*, hitherto neglected by scholars, would strengthen the thematic reading here proposed: I refer to the two

symmetrical tritons on the upper face of the handle,<sup>283</sup> whose mouths are turned towards Perseus and Hermes respectively. Since they appear related to the main characters, they may be interpreted as representing the sea, or Ocean, which lies between the heroes and the known world – a reading which would project their quests into the remote and exotic lands to which the *Iliad* alludes in the passage mentioned above (3. 2–7).<sup>284</sup> In the aryballos iconography, Perseus is clearly identified by name, but also by the helmet of Hades and the winged sandals. At the same time, there are no elements referable to the quest of the Gorgon: the *harpe*, *kibisis*, and *gorgoneion* are all missing. Indeed, the illustration has nothing to do with the beheading of Medusa:<sup>285</sup> the frame of reference is, rather, that of the freeing of Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, king of the Ethiopians.

We have already commented on the connection between Hermes and satyrs, and on this basis we may regard the satyrs as members of Hermes' entourage. This alone would explain their presence, but there are further specific links between satyrs and Perseus. We know that one of Aeschylus' satyr-plays is devoted to the story of the landing at Seriphus of Danae and Perseus, and there are several illustrations (starting from ca. 500 BCE) of Perseus in action amongst satyrs and Maenads. One scene recurs in which Perseus exhibits the *gorgoneion* before an audience of terrified satyrs, who either freeze in fear or seek some means of refuge from her deadly gaze.<sup>286</sup>

We may, finally, establish a functional relation between Pygmies and satyrs too:<sup>287</sup> in so far as they are anti-heroic characters whose bodies are oddly-shaped and whose feats are all but glorious, satyrs and Pygmies would appear in some respects interchangeable. Pygmies sometimes appear in connection with Heracles,<sup>288</sup> but there are further links between Pygmies and the Dionysian realm: the previously mentioned Northampton amphora (ca. 540 BCE; Etruscan provenance) shows on one side a scene of Pygmies riding cranes, and on the opposite side a *kantharos*-bearing Dionysus with four satyrs, one of whom is busy drawing from the krater, while another, smaller in size, plays an aulos.<sup>289</sup>

We may, at this stage, proceed to an overall interpretation of the action: Perseus is engaged among the Ethiopians (or, more generically, along the banks of the Ocean) in his quest to free Andromeda, and is the spectator of a battle of Pygmies and cranes. From the battlefield come unintelligible cries in

Perseus' direction, so that Hermes, who is on the scene accompanied by a group of satyrs, comes to his aid: this time by translating (or attempting to do so) the idiom of the Pygmies. A possible outcome might be a call for help by the Pygmies, enjoining the satyrs to side with them in battle: the satyrs however, who disincline from heroism, indulge in their customary pastime.

I only intend this reading as one possibility among several. It is not my aim to arrive at an exact reconstruction of the plot of a drama, but rather to highlight how around 570-550 BCE manifold expressive codes were employed which would later tie into the Attic satyr drama.<sup>290</sup> Whatever the details of the plot of this mimic act, a number of core elements can be established:

- 1) gods and heroes hold fast to their habitual status and are not being parodied;
- 2) three characters in satyr costume are engaged in a choreographed (erotic) action which sets them apart, in terms of ethos, from the world of heroes;
- 3) the vase inscriptions can be considered 'stage lines' meant for comic purposes;
- 4) the battle of Pygmies and cranes is a transposition of the contrast that holds between the heroes and satyrs and their respective value systems.

One might, naturally, object that the characters which feature in the battle scene could by no means be represented in a mimic act. I would be less inclined to regard this as a real difficulty. The images conjured by Nearchus' aryballos are not to be seen as book illustrations of a dramatic performance: they are rather the figurative transposition of the codes and expressive practices that were current in satyr acts from the sixth century BCE. In the course of an actual stage representation, the battle of the Pygmies might simply have been related by a narrating voice, possibly with emphasis on elements of verbal *grammelot* for the sake of comic effect. We might also think of a choreographed act by the satyrs, who interact solely with a single narrator. At any rate, the main objet of the reconstruction I have attempted holds true, and lies in the simultaneous presence in one figurative complex of all of the elements which were later to be codified in Attic satyr drama.

What a painter of the talent of Nearchus did was to transpose the spirit of dramatic action into a visual

representation: by means of the battle of Pygmies and cranes he thus embodied the reversal of the tragic/epic ethos which was to define satyr drama. He expressed the very *raison d'être* of satyr acts by drawing on a myth that bore close connections with the episodes in which satyrs typically featured as protagonists. We should note in this regard that in the sixth century satyrs never were the sole 'owners' of the mythical tales in which they habitually appeared (alone or with other characters). Satyrs shared the field of action with other personages, such as the Pygmies, intended to furnish an obverse representation of the lofty and distinguished world of heroes.<sup>291</sup> In spite of the minute proportions of the illustration, almost in defiance of the restrictions, Nearchus delivered a lively, accurate, and detailed visual transposition of a sixth-century BCE *satyrikon*. The range of expressive codes embedded in this class of dramatic actions is so complex as to make the words of Aristotle all the more credible and worthy of attention, when he claimed that Greek tragedy was the offshoot of the *satyrikon* (*Poet.* 1449 a 19–21).

Some closing remarks are in order regarding the use for which the aryballos was intended. Although the site of its finding is unknown, we can easily identify its two contexts of usage on the grounds that aryballoi are oil-flasks, accessories for personal care: one is the gym, for athletes to oil themselves after training; funeral rites, for the treatment of the dead and as offerings to be buried with the deceased. In this particular instance, the vessel's exquisite workmanship and its maker's renown suggest high-ranking ownership, someone who would be both inclined and able to buy a luxury oil-flask. I do not think we could be far wrong imagining this aryballos in the changing rooms of a *gymnasion*, as it catches the eye of its owner's acquaintances, who would be curious to inspect more closely the minute pictures, visible only to one holding it in his hands. These sporting aristocrats, in constant martial training, would certainly have been amused by the pictures: the odd phalanx of Pygmies fighting the cranes; and the peaceloving satyrs, intent on amusing themselves. This counterpoint to aristocratic values is reminiscent of Simonides' at once jocular and aggressive addresses to athletes in his earliest victory odes.<sup>292</sup> As in Simonides' verses, the expressive code and underlying mindset displayed in this vessel neutralize any danger of impropriety. Exactly in the same manner as Attic fifth-century BCE satyr drama,

comico-satyresque actions, to which Nearchus' aryballos bears precious witness, turn the heroic world, with its values and icons, upside down and back to front. There is no room for hybris in this inverted world. Transposed to the all-too-human sphere of satyrs, heroic pretensions are duly downsized, and thus sheltered from the reversals of fortune the gods typically have in store for those who believe there is no enterprise beyond the bounds of human reach.



**Fig. 1** Nearchus' aryballos, New York, MMA 26.49. Satyrs.



**Fig. 2** Nearchus' aryballos, New York, MMA 26.49. Hermes. Battle of cranes and pygmies.



**Fig. 3** Nearchus' aryballos, New York, MMA 26.49. Battle of cranes and pygmies.

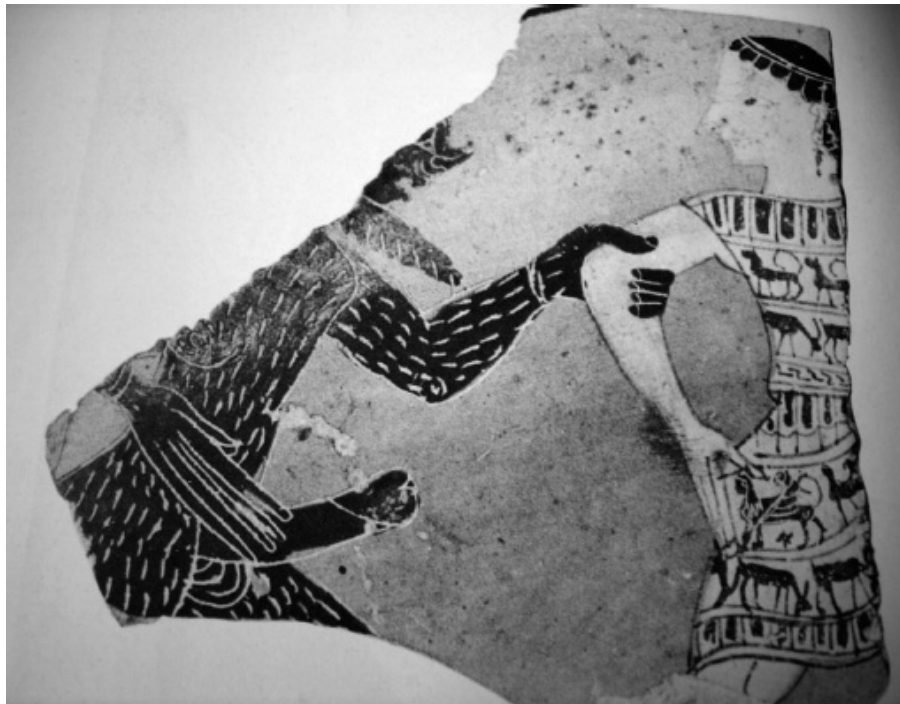


**Fig. 4** Nearchus' aryballos, New York, MMA 26.49. Battle of cranes and pygmies. Perseus.

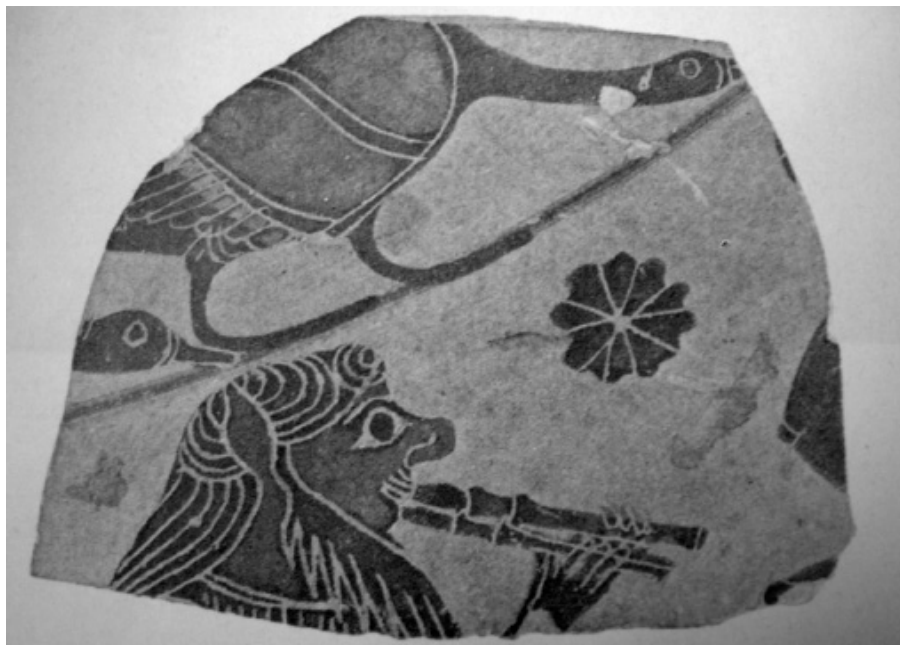


**Fig. 5** Nearchus' aryballos. Detail of the handle (Hedreen 1992).





**Fig. 6** Dinos fragment attributed to Sophilos (ca. 580 BCE), Istanbul 4514.  
Man in satyr costume clutching a nymph.



**Fig. 7** Unattributed fragment from Naukratis (soon after 600 BCE), London B 103.16. Man in satyr costume playing an aulos.





**Fig. 8** Boeotian black-figure trick vase (ca. 570-560 BCE), Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. 3366. Komastic choreography.



**Fig. 9** Tyrrenian neck amphora (2.nd quarter of the sixth century BCE),

Rome, Museo Nazionale Villa Giulia M. 453. Detail: men wearing satyr costumes.

# Comedy outside the Canon: from Ritual Slapstick to Hellenistic Mime

## 1 Premise

The Greek world was characterized by *laughter-inducing spectacles*, a 'neutral' expression I shall use to indicate *all* types of *performance* aimed at producing laughter in its audience, whether spectators or listeners, whatever the function<sup>293</sup> of the laughter so induced (ritual-apotropaic, educational-social, entertainment, etc.).

In the considerable production of performances of the kind, much of what is generally classified as a strictly 'literary product' – e.g. the classic iambic poetry (Archilochus, Hipponax, etc.); Attic comedy (ancient, middle, and new), Sicilian (Epicharmus, Phormis [or Phormus], Dinolochus), and Italiote (Rhinton, Sopater, Blaesus [?], Sciras)<sup>294</sup> — is simply the tip of the iceberg emerging from a vaster, thematically homogeneous production, which in the main remained submerged. A constant awareness of the dynamics responsible for the transmission and survival of these laughter-gearred productions with respect to those remaining submerged provides, among other things, a key to the 'osmotic' relationship between the emerged products and the submerged.

Although the present work looks at laughter-inducing Greek spectacles in general, particular attention will be given to mime, since in the past an archaic form of mime was hypothesized as the departure-point for the development of numerous canonical laughter-inducing spectacles, including comedy.<sup>295</sup> If this is correct it would make this alleged 'archaic' mime a privileged object of research into the submerged. Yet the idea that this 'archaic' and submerged mime should represent the departure-point for canonical laughter-inducing spectacles rests on fragile bases (*infra* § 2):

it is the dramatic mime of the Hellenistic and Roman periods which should rightly be termed *submerged* literature, whatever its prehistory (*infra* § 5).

## 2 The background of the submerged: mime?

Before we proceed it should be made clear that I take as a given the originally ritual nature of comedy, like that of tragedy and the satyr plays.<sup>296</sup> This is not of course to endorse the ritualistic theories of the Cambridge school,<sup>297</sup> but merely to admit that comedy is akin to less elaborate performances of ritual laughter (*infra* § 3), and that the context of the religious festivals in which they were staged is a fundamental factor.

In the most recent attempts to deny the ritual origins of Greek theatre it has been reiterated that prior to the birth of Attic comedy there existed 'lay' performances by street performers which in the hands of professional authors evolved into a literarily elaborate structure.<sup>298</sup> This is not, however, an original point of view. As early as the late nineteenth century, while never denying the link between ritual and comedy, Poppelreuter suggested that the burlesque scenes in Aristophanes — namely those in which the victorious comic hero gives his opponents a good drubbing<sup>299</sup> — were a legacy of a type of Doric popular farce analogous to Italian *commedia dell'arte* or to German *Kasperlespiel*.<sup>300</sup> In such entertainment the most elementary form of the comic element would of course have consisted in having a *Pulcinella* take a stick to all comers. Whether we should conclude that the submerged background of comedy was a secularized slapstick of pure entertainment value, however, is a different matter.

I shall begin by pointing out that, for all Rozik's (2003, 116) affirmation: 'there is clear evidence, from the beginning of the sixth century BCE, of the fact that Attic comedy was preceded by popular forms of comedy', popular theatre of purely entertainment value is known to have existed for certain only in a very late period. I am referring to the dramatic μῦμοι of the Hellenistic-Roman period, a sung and/or acted entertainment by μῦμοι/actors, the 'areligious' nature of which (Sajeva 1977, 254) made it loosely comparable to modern *vaudeville*:<sup>301</sup> not for nothing were the μῦμοι/actors of the

Hellenistic period excluded from the *collegia* of the *technitai* of Dionysus,<sup>302</sup> unlike their tragic and comic counterparts. Some scholars, however, maintain that far from being a new theatrical form of the Hellenistic period, the *μίμοι*/plays of this kind were actually a late development of a more ancient type of the archaic period. Calliachi (1713, 41 s.), for example, brackets with *μίμοι* the laughter-inducing productions in the archaic period as testified by Sosibius (third century BCE) (*FGrHist* 595 F 7 *ap.* Athen. 14. 621d-f),<sup>303</sup> who states that a form of comic entertainment was performed in Sparta by *δεικηλισταί*;<sup>304</sup> these were also present in other Greek cities but known by other names: *φαλλοφόροι* in Sicyon, *αὐτοκάβδαλοι* (in Corinth? Megara Nisaea?),<sup>305</sup> *φλύακες* in Magna Graecia, *ἐθελονταί* in Thebes,<sup>306</sup> and *σοφισταί* almost everywhere. These *δεικηλισταί* were also known for their impersonations of orchard thieves and pseudo-medical charlatans with foreign accents:

Athen. 14.621 d-f παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κωμικῆς παιδιᾶς ἦν τις τρόπος παλαιός, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος (*FGrHist* 595 F 7), οὐκ ἄγαν σπουδαῖος, ἅτε δὴ κὰν τούτοις τὸ λιτὸν τῆς Σπάρτης μεταδιωκούσης. ἐμμεῖτο γάρ τις ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει κλέπτοντάς τινας ὁπώραν ἢ ξενικὸν ἰατρὸν [...]. ἐκαλοῦντο δ' οἱ μετιόντες τὴν τοιαύτην παιδιὰν παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι *δεικηλισταί*, ὥς ἂν τις σκευοποιὸς εἴπῃ καὶ μιμητάς. τοῦ δὲ εἵδους τῶν *δεικηλιστῶν* πολλαὶ κατὰ τόπους εἰσὶ προσηγορίαι. Σικυώνιοι μὲν γὰρ *φαλλοφόρους* αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοκαβδόλους, οἱ δὲ *φλύακας*, ὥς Ἱταλοί, *σοφιστάς* δὲ οἱ πολλοί· *Θηβαῖοι* δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἰδίως ὀνομάζειν εἰωθότες ἐθελοντάς.

Among the Lacedaemonians there was an ancient manner of comic entertainment, as Sosibius says, not taken very seriously, because in such matters also Sparta follows simplicity. In simple language one would imitate persons stealing fruit, or a foreign doctor [...]. Those who pursued this kind of entertainment among the Laconians were called *deikelistai*, or, as one may say in other words, maskers and mummers. But there are many local terms for the type known as *deikelistai*. The people of Sycion, for example, call them phallus-bearers, others, *autokabdaloi*, still others, *phlyakes* (so the Italians),

while the majority call them sophists; but Thebans, who are in the habit of having special names of their own for most things, call them volunteers (transl. Ch. Burton Gulick [modified]).

Reich successively maintained that these performances were not only archaic forms of μῦμοι, but also the departure-point — or submerged background, in the terminology of the present debate — for canonical laughter-inducing performances: from ancient Attic and Siceliot comedy to Sophronic mime and the mime of the Hellenistic-Roman period.<sup>307</sup> Nonetheless, it is very doubtful that it should be possible to speak of the performances described by Sosibius as an ancient Greek *Pulcinella variety*, from which Hellenistic mime was directly derived.<sup>308</sup>

Hellenistic mime was a lay form of entertainment lacking the attribute which more than any other had endorsed the religious dimension of dramatic performance at the origins of theatre history: the use of masks.<sup>309</sup> Sosibian laughter-inducing productions were a very different matter. The term δεικηλιστής, in particular, harks back to δείκηλον, 'image', and thus, in all probability, the use of 'masks'.<sup>310</sup> Herodotus (2. 171 ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ [*scil.* Osiridis] νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι, 'On this lake they [*scil.* Egyptian priests] enact by night the story of the god's sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries' [transl. A.D. Godley]), in whom we find the earliest attestation of the term, uses it to indicate the *sacred representations* of Osiris' misfortunes performed by Egyptian priests.<sup>311</sup> Δείκηλα is thus the correct term for a religious spectacle by actor-priests, and not light entertainment of the *Pulcinella variety*. This makes it difficult to exclude that the performance of Spartan δεικηλισταί, far from being a lay form of slapstick, actually possessed a ritual function. It is similarly difficult to deny ritual origins to φαλλοφόροι, 'ritual phallus-bearers', or to the φλύακες, 'demons of abundance'(?).<sup>312</sup> Not, then, forms of secularized slapstick, but *ritual* slapstick.

It should be added here that this ritual aspect of laughter-gearred performances described by Sosibius was considered by both Reich and Wiemken,<sup>313</sup> who were at pains to explain why late mime, unlike hypothetical archaic mime, was far from having any ritual purpose. Wiemken (1972, 33), in particular, posits the putative archaic mime as an *intermezzo*

in the *phallophoria* performed by masked actors, which then gradually broke away from the phallic procession and the mask and turned into a purely lay spectacle. In actual fact however any such metamorphosis is impossible to prove; nor is it clear why the concept of secularized *μῖμος* should be backdated to the archaic period, thereby minimizing the fact that the laughter-inducing performances of Sosibius, which should be taken to document its existence, are however very different from the 'lay' *μῖμος* of the Hellenistic-Roman period. It is true that in mentioning the Spartan king Agesilaus' deriding of the tragic actor Callippides as *δεικηλιστής*, Plutarch then adds that the term was in use among the Spartans to designate what in his time would have been more accurately described as *μῖμος*.<sup>314</sup> At the same time, however, it is clear that the sense of the quip lay in the fact that Callippides was known for his exaggerated gesturality, and thus resembled a *δεικηλιστής* — a clown in contemporary parlance — and not a dignified tragic actor;<sup>315</sup> and that Plutarch's (or possible his source's) equation *δεικηλιστής* = *μῖμος*, while clarifying Agesilaus' quip for his readers, was also a trivialization which failed to take into account the substantial difference between the Spartan *δεικηλιστής* and the Hellenistic-Roman *μῖμος*.

Mention should also be made of David's hypothesis whereby the laughter-inducing productions of the *δεικηλισταί* were entrusted to the Helots, thereby allowing them to provide a behavioural anti-model for the Spartiates.<sup>316</sup> The laughter-inducing productions of the *δεικηλισταί* thus constituted a 'ritual of social oppression' (David 1989, p.7), the more significant in that humiliations of the kind were visited on the Helots for the entertainment of the Spartiates.<sup>317</sup> May it then be feasible to posit that the Spartans adapted some original form of traditional ritual slapstick to their own socio-political situation?

### **3 Submerged laughter entertainment...**

Rather than project backwards into the archaic period the concept of a form of entertainment akin to Hellenistic-Roman mime,<sup>318</sup> it is preferable to work from a recognition that in the Greek world there existed generally simple but occasionally more elaborate types of anonymous laughter-inducing performances. These include the scurrilous banter among

women during the Syracusan festivals in honour of Demeter described by Diodorus Siculus<sup>319</sup>; or in the relatively ubiquitous Thesmophoria;<sup>320</sup> and again in Attica in religious festivals: the *Haloea*, the *Stenia*, those in honour of Demeter *Mysia* and *Chloe*<sup>321</sup> and, above all, the *gephyrismos* ('bridgery'), in one or, other scholars claim, two phases in the procession of the Eleusinian Mysteries recalling how Demeter's spirits were raised after the rape of her daughter Kore/Persephone by the banter of Iambe/Baubò.<sup>322</sup>

Quite patently, these were comic performances consisting largely in apotropaic repartee. At the same time, performances like those cited by Sosibius were more elaborate: e.g., the festivities in honour of Damia and Auxesia of Aegina, characterized by ritual insults and, according to Herodotus (Herodot. 5. 83), by elaborate female choruses.<sup>323</sup> Examples of these are the processions of Dionysian floats in the *Anthesteria* and the *Lenaia* in Athens, in which masked participants threw out ribald comments to the public in the course of performances which, at certain moments in their history, must also have comprised the recital of poetry,<sup>324</sup> or the highly spectacular *phallophoria* mentioned (*FGrHist* 396 F 24 *ap.* Athen. 14. 622 a-d) by Semus of Delos (third century BCE?), an elaborate laughter-inducing performance with a series of actions assigned to three categories of actors: the αὐτοκάβδαλοι, who pronounce *rhêseis* (although Semus also speaks of actual ποιήματα!); the ἰθύφαλλοι, who wander through the theatre reciting poetry, and the φαλλοφόροι, without masks, who intone different types of lines and addressed derisive remarks against the audience:<sup>325</sup>

Sem. Del. *FGrHist* 396 F 24 *ap.* Athen. 14.622 b-d οἱ αὐτοκάβδαλοι [...] καλούμενοι ἑστεφανωμένοι κιττῶ σχέδην ἐπέβαινον ῥήσεις. ὕστερον δὲ ἱαμβοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἰθύφαλλοι [...] καλούμενοι προσωπεῖα μεθύντων ἔχουσιν καὶ ἑστεφάνωνται, χειρῖδας ἀνθινὰς ἔχοντες· χιτῶσι δὲ χρῶνται μεσολεύκοις καὶ περιέζωνται ταραντῖνον καλύπτον αὐτοὺς μέχρι τῶν σφυρῶν. σιγῇ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πυλῶνος εἰσελθόντες, ὅταν κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ὀρχήστραν γένωνται, ἐπιστρέφουσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον λέγοντες (*c. porp.* 5a Page sequitur) [...]. οἱ δὲ φαλλοφόροι [...] προσωπεῖον μὲν οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, προσκόπιον δ' ἐξ ἐρπύλλου περιτιθέμενοι καὶ παιδέρωτος ἐπάνω τούτου ἐπιτίθενται στέφανον [τε]



δασὺν ἴων καὶ κιττοῦ· καυνάκας τε περιβεβλημένοι  
παρέρχονται οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρόδου, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσας τὰς  
θύρας, βαίνοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ λέγοντες (c. *pop.* 5b  
Page sequitur). [...] εἴτα προστρέχοντες ἐτώθαζον  
οὐς [ἄν] προέλοιντο, στάδην δὲ ἔπραττον· ὁ δὲ  
φαλλοφόρος ἰθὺ βαδίζων καταπασθεὶς αἰθάλῳ.

The *autokabdaloι*, as they were called, recited their pieces standing, wearing wreaths of ivy. Later they were named *iamboι*, as were their poems. The so-called *ithyphalloi* [...] have a mask representing drunken men, and wear wreaths and coloured sleeves; their tunics have white stripes and are belted with a fancy apron which covers them down to the ankles. After entering the portal in silence, when they reach the centre of the orchestra they turn toward the audience and recite [c. *pop.* 5a Page sequitur]: [...] But the *phallophoroi* [...] do not use a mask, but binding on their heads a bonnet of tufted thyme and holly, they place on top of this a thick wreath of violets and ivy; wrapped in thick mantles they come in, some by the side-entrance, others by the middle doors, marching in step and reciting [c.*pop.* 5b Page sequitur] [...]. They would then run forward and jeer at any one they picked out; they did this standing still. But the man who carried the phalluspole kept marching straight on, smeared with soot (transl. Ch. B. Gulick).

It is from phallophoria that Aristotle (*Poetics* 1449<sup>a</sup>9 ss.) had comedy originate. Unfortunately we are unable to ascribe to a specific period or place the *phallophoria* Semus described,<sup>326</sup> but two facts stand out: first of all, that the performance took place in a theatre (εἰς τὸ θέατρον), endorsing the fact, underlined by Giordano,<sup>327</sup> that the physical space of the theatre was conceived and long continued to exist as a ritual-spectacular space. Secondly, αὐτοκάβδαλοι and φαλλοφόροι bear the same name as a number of the actors in Sosibius' laughter-inducing performances (*supra* § 2), confirming that this kind of entertainment has its roots in religious ritual and not in the light entertainment of street performers. Equally important are the submerged entertainments documented by iconographic material.

This would seem to apply, due distinction made, to the

ritual performances centred around the so-termed padded dancers: small beings with enormous backside and phallus recalling the costumes of actors of archaic comedy and the entertainments illustrated on the so-called Phlyax vases from Southern Italy (*infra* § 4).<sup>328</sup> In one such image, depicted on the Corinthian Dümmler krater (Louvre E 632; c. 600–590 BCE. See Fig. 1), these small beings — three with names referring clearly to their demonic nature<sup>329</sup> — are busily playing a double aulos, dancing, or transporting a krater under the vigilant eye of a whip-bearing guard. Opposite this is another image of two identical beings who are chained and undergoing torture, while a woman brings them food. Might we interpret this as the laughter-inducing spectacle of a scene of thieves being punished of the type Sosibius attributed to the δεικῆλισταί? Is this a form of ritual slapstick? While we cannot exclude this interpretation, it is far from certain.<sup>330</sup>

A clearer example of ritual laughter-inducing dramatic performance, on the other hand, are those on the *Kabeiran* vases from Thebes — one of the cities mentioned by Sosibius — in which more of these padded beings with enormous backside and phallus are acting out well-known myths: Bellerophon (Athens, Nat. Archaeol. Mus. 10530 = Kat. 324 B.-H.), Odysseus and Circe (London, Brit. Mus. 93.3–3.1 = Kat. 398 B.-H. See Fig. 2), Cadmus (Berlin, Staatlichen Mus. 3285 = Kat. 356 B.-H.) etc. The date of these images (fifth-fourth century BCE) has been adduced as proof of the influence of Attic comedy.<sup>331</sup> If this is true, far from there being a ‘barrier’ between submerged or emerged laughter-inducing performances, their mutually ritual nature actually meant that osmosis between the two occurred very naturally. It is not, then, a question of considering the comedies of Athens or Sicily as a literary product *tout court* in which ritual elements converged, but of pinpointing the intrinsic rituality uniting emerged and submerged performances of this kind, at least in their origins.

## 4 ... and emerged

The process whereby the submerged became emerged began in the symposium of the archaic period, when the original anonymous ritual *iambus* existed in parallel with signed productions by such names as Archilochus, Hipponax and other iambic poets. What made their emergence possible in

public as opposed to semi-private circles (the symposium), however, was the redefinition of the role of a number of poleis as the archaic period gave way to the classical. This was the case of comedy, which, indeed, emerged at a variety of moments and places.

In Megara Nisaea, for example, the transition from tyranny to a form of government degenerated into 'unbridled democracy' (ἀκόλαστος δημοκρατία), between the seventh and sixth century BCE, allowed the establishment of a Megarian comedy the existence of which is frequently wrongly denied.<sup>332</sup> Nothing of it remains, however – neither quotations nor dramatists' names, with the exception of the mysterious Susarion, whose putative Megarian origins happen to be false.<sup>333</sup> For the emergence of comedy over other forms of laughter-inducing productions it was necessary to wait for the fifth century BCE, when Athens and Syracuse, albeit in different ways, developed to the extent of allowing the emergence of a polis-protected signed production.

The most effective description of how authoritative comedy began to establish itself over anonymous production in Athens is given in Aristotle's *Poetics* (1449<sup>a</sup>37 ff.), which speaks of the institutionalization of comic choruses by the Athenian polis. After lacking state control for a considerable period, the Attic laughter-inducing performances were finally subsumed under the aegis of the polis, nominating *choregoi* to finance yearly drama competitions. These took place at the *Dionysia*, where comedy became part of the theatre programme from 487/6 BCE, and afterwards at the *Lenaea*, where polis-administrated performances began in ca. 441/0 BCE.<sup>334</sup> In parallel to the emergence of comic theatre of the kind in Athens, Aristotle adds, the first names begin to appear of poets registered in the official archives, whereas before the state administration of performances the poets were 'volunteers', and not yet distinguished from the actors<sup>335</sup> (*Poetics* 1449<sup>b</sup>1 καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὅψε ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν, 'Indeed it is only quite late in its history that the archon granted a chorus for a comic poet. Before that they were volunteers' [transl. W. Hamylton Fyfe], a testimony recalling the ἐθελονταί of the Theban submerged laughter-inducing performances, as described by Sosibius).<sup>336</sup> A further contributory factor in creating conditions for the emergence of signed theatre productions, the importance of which has only recently been recognized,<sup>337</sup> was the parallel emergence in Athens of a market for poetry events. The

political regime at Syracuse, under the tyranny of Deinomenids, similarly assisted (possibly predating Athens) the institutionalization of laughter-inducing performances in the figure of Epicharmus, whose work was performed in competitions .<sup>338</sup>

Attic and Sicilian comedy are obvious outstanding examples of the emergence of these laughter-inducing performances, although the problem of their interrelation is destined to remain the object of debate.<sup>339</sup> The fact, however, remains that their emergence is a phenomenon conditioning the destiny of submerged production. Comedy from Magna Graecia is singularly interesting in this respect, and merits a few words.

We read, above, in the account by Sosibius (*supra* § 2) that laughter-inducing performances in the form of Phlyax plays were typical of Southern Italy, although it is not known whether it is these that are represented on fourth-century BCE Italiote Phlyax vases, as was once thought.<sup>340</sup> These images, prior to Rhinthon's work,<sup>341</sup> illustrate comic situations which appear to be directly inspired by Attic comedy: from the parody of Euripides' *Telephus* on the Apulian krater in the Martin von Wagner-Museum in Würzburg (H 5697) (ca. 370 BCE), recalling scenes from Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (750 ff.) ,<sup>342</sup> to the 'New York Goose Play' illustrated on the calyx-krater attributed to the Tarporley Painter (Metropolitan Museum of Art – New York 24.97.104. See fig. 3), on which the lines issuing from the protagonists' mouths suggest Attic speech rather than Doric, as would be expected from an Italiote farce.<sup>343</sup> Taplin cogently argues that the illustrations on these as on other Phlyax vases are reproductions of scenes from Attic comedy,<sup>344</sup> but while in no way questioning this reading it may perhaps be qualified by speaking not so much of Attic comedy in the West but of submerged laughter-inducing performances (Phlyax plays?) influenced by emerged Athenian production.<sup>345</sup> What is beyond doubt is that when, with Rhinthon of Tarentum, Phlyax theatre emerged from its original submerged condition through a process analogous to that undergone in Athens and Syracuse, the influence of Attic theatre was to remain an incontrovertible fact.<sup>346</sup> Rhinthon's work, the titles of which recall Euripides' masterpieces *Heracles*; *Medea*; *Orestes*; etc., would be incomprehensible without the experience of Athenian theatre.

## 5 Mime as submerged literature

Leaving aside attempts to backdate the entrance of mime onto the Greek stage (*supra* § 2),<sup>347</sup> the term μῖμος to indicate a literary product in the strict sense appears for the first time in fr. 72 R.<sup>3</sup> of Aristotle's lost *On the Poets* to define the work of the Syracusan Sophron (fifth century BCE), although the expression used, 'so-called mimes' (τοὺς καλουμένους Σώφρονος μίμους), would seem to indicate that μῖμοι was more a manner of speaking, at least originally, than a title chosen by the author.<sup>348</sup> In either case there is no doubt that the work by Sophron and his son Xenarchus — intended for the symposium rather than the theatre<sup>349</sup> — was the model for Theocritus' mime and the mimiambes of Herondas in lines destined primarily if not exclusively for reading.<sup>350</sup> What is less clear is the relationship between Sophron's production and that of his imitators with the theatrical μῖμοι which became widespread during the Hellenistic period (*supra* § 2).

Taking as his starting-point a statement by Plutarch's *Table Talk* according to which two forms of mime exist: a simple form, termed παίγνιον, and a more dramatically elaborate one termed ὑπόθεσις,<sup>351</sup> Reich (1903, 12–19, 417–615) posits that the dramatic mime of the Hellenistic-Roman period corresponds to ὑπόθεσις, a combination of original Ionic sung mime (μιμωδία) and spoken Doric mime (μιμολογία). It is however impossible to test the validity of the hypothesis, resting as it does on a prehistory of mime of which no details are available. All we can start from are the facts.

Dramatic mime of the Hellenistic-Roman period constituted a form of entertainment which first developed in the Greek world before extending to Rome (from the late third century BCE?).<sup>352</sup> The history of mime is shorter in Rome than in Greece however, where μῖμοι continued to be produced until the Byzantine period.<sup>353</sup> Its production in the Hellenistic-Roman period was vast, although we possess very few names: Decimus Laberius and Publilius Syrus (first century BCE) for the Latin world<sup>354</sup> and Philition (first century BCE – first CE) for the Greek;<sup>355</sup> an enormous but anonymous production of which scant but precious fragments remain in Cunningham's papyrus collection.<sup>356</sup> Why is this?

It has to be recognized that these fragments on papyrus are clearly scripts rather than texts introduced through the regular channels of text distribution, as appears from POxy 413 (= *FMP* 6–7 Cunn.) (second century CE) in the two mimes

*Charition* and *Moicheutria*, where the different parts and the introduction of musical instruments are clearly indicated.<sup>357</sup> It is also significant that a conspicuous part of *Charition* is copied out on the *verso* of the papyrus in a different hand, updating the script used for one or more previous performances to meet the needs of a repeat, and similarly significant that *Moicheutria* is the script of the protagonist, without the lines of her interlocutors.<sup>358</sup> Mime scripts were probably also the basis for the text in PBerol 13876, (= *FMP* 12 Cunn.) (second century CE) and the mime *The Arbitration* in PLitLond 97 (= *FMP* 10 Cunn.) (second century CE),<sup>359</sup> both bearing initials indicating individual actors' parts. Across *The Arbitration* in PLitLond 97 it has actually been written, diagonally, that the mime was copied 'by Heraclides from the library of Prasias' (ἐκ βιβλιοθήκης Πρασί(ου) / Ἡρακλείδης ἀ[πέγραψεν). However, rather than inferring that what we see is a text which had entered reading circulation channels, as Page maintains,<sup>360</sup> it is plausible that Heraclides had 'mechanically' transcribed a copy (thus including the director's notes) from the library of the mime Prasia.<sup>361</sup> It would, in any case, have been a transcription for personal use, outside reading circulation channels; and there is no shortage of occasional transcriptions of mime, albeit lacking the director's notes in the originals.

This would seem to be the case, for example, of fragments of mime on the *verso* of documentary papyri — PTeht 2d<sup>v</sup> (= *FMP* 2 Cunn.) (first century BCE); POxy 3700<sup>v</sup> (first century CE), and PRyl 15<sup>v</sup> (= *FMP* 9 Cunn.) (second century CE) — but also of the ironic lament for the enamoured and now inoffensive fighting cockerel in POxy 219 (= *FMP* 4 Cunn.) (first century BCE), the 'rough and rather difficult cursive' of which (Grenfell and Hunt 1899, 39) bespeaks a transcription for personal use. A similar cursive script also characterizes the mime on *Odysseus disguised at Troy*, PKöln VI 245 (third century CE), with signs of deletions and rewriting,<sup>362</sup> and the woman's lament over the body of her son, PLitLond 51<sup>v</sup> (second century CE). Quite exceptional was the transcription of the *Lament of the exclusa amatrix* (PGrenf 1<sup>v</sup> = PLitLond 50<sup>v</sup> = *FMP* 1 Cunn.) (second century BCE) by that same Dryton (ca. 192–126 BCE) to whom we owe one of the most important papyrus archives of Egyptian Hellenism. This, it has been well argued, is a copy transcribed on the *verso* of a papyrus made for personal use and certainly not for further readings/renditions of the piece (Esposito 2005, 15).

To define the fragments of Hellenistic-Roman mime on papyrus, the idea of a *canovaccio* has often been evoked, recalling the *commedia dell'arte* praxis. This was the view held by Wiemken, who considered the mime of the period to consist in theme-based improvisation and thus, once again, something akin to *commedia dell'arte*.<sup>363</sup> It is true however that these papyrus texts give the idea less of *canovacci* than of complete texts with rigorously-assigned lines: at most, of transcriptions excluded from channels of conservation which would have protected them and ensured their transmission.<sup>364</sup> In other words they are submerged literature, which means that the debate on mime can be reconstructed on other bases.

The moderns, perplexed as to how to define the mimes of Sophron, Xenarchus, Theocritus and Herondas as compared with those of the Hellenistic-Roman period found on papyrus speak respectively of *literary* and *non-literary* or *popular mimes*:<sup>365</sup> not the most apposite choice, at least as regards the second category. Apart from the fact that the term 'literature' is non-existent in ancient Greek,<sup>366</sup> it is difficult to see why a text most definitely written for performance, as mimes of this period were, should be excluded from what is generally classed as 'literary'.<sup>367</sup> It is considerably useful on the other hand, in the case of Hellenistic mimes, to speak of submerged production outside the normal channels of circulation and thus not subject to forms of textual control guaranteeing their conservation. In this sense the papyrus fragments mentioned above could well be termed 'voices of the submerged'. Exceptions, however, remain.

As already said, these are the mimes of Decimus Laberius and Publilius Syrus in Rome, and of Philistion in Greece, the sententious content of which guaranteed conservation,<sup>368</sup> although when Seneca cites the maxims of Publilius Syrus he seems to imply that their conservation is atypical.<sup>369</sup> The entry of the mimes of Laberius, Publilius, and Philistion into literary circulation channels, as a sporadic phenomenon within a vast production, is simply the exception that confirms the rule. Hellenistic-Roman mime is by its nature submerged literature.

## **6 The impossibility of classifying mime and the dialogue between emerged and**



# submerged literature

Whatever lies outside the canon is not classified. This is demonstrated by the desperate attempts of grammarians to define the position of mime with respect to canonical genres of drama. In the peripatetic medley of material which constitutes the *Tractatus Coislinianus*<sup>370</sup> (TC 2 τὸ δὲ δραματικὸν καὶ πρακτικόν· κωμῳδία, τραγῳδία, μίμους, σατύρους) and, again, (in the source of) Diomedes (Diomed. *Ars Gramm.* XI Kaib. = *Proleg. de com.* XXIV, 1. 14–16 *Koster poematos dramatici vel activi genera sunt quattuor, apud Graecos tragica, comica, satyrica, mimica, apud Romanos praetextata, tabernaria, atellana, planipes*), mime is a genre considered of equal dignity with tragedy, comedy, and the satyr play.<sup>371</sup>

For others, on the other hand,— (the source of) Donatus (*ad Terentium* I, p. 21 Wessner *Comoedia multas species habet. Aut enim palliata est, aut togata aut tabernaria, aut Atellana, aut Mimus, aut Rhinthonica, aut planipedia*) — mime is to be relegated to a comic subgenre.<sup>372</sup> It is of course true that no canons exist of authors of mime, and Sophron, for want of a better collocation, is often listed among the comedialographers.<sup>373</sup>

Genres outside the canon lack even a precise term of description. Mimes are defined variously as βιόλογοι, ἡθόλογοι, μιμόβιοι etc.,<sup>374</sup> among which it is difficult to distinguish. The most interesting definition is offered by Aristocles of Rhodes (*ap. Athen.* 14. 620d–621d), a musician and contemporary of Strabo's, who draws on the writings of Aristoxenus of Tarentum and attempts a classification of mime based on the mode of execution, whilst grouping mime with tragedy and comedy on the basis of content. Aristocles in particular declares that sung comic mimes, indicated as μαγῳδία and λυσιῳδία, are comparable, while admitting that differences must have existed between the two types of performance. He then speaks of prose mime indicated as ἰωνικολογία (but equally κιναιδολογία!), also referring to another form of sung mime which is tragic, ἰλαρῳδία, alternatively indicated as σιμῳδία. The names of Sotades of Maroneia and Alexander Aetolus are cited in connection with licentious prose mimes, which incidentally proves that this part of the information is not taken from Aristoxenus, who predated them, while he is unable to cite any name other than that of the mysterious Simus of Magnesia<sup>375</sup> for the four



(or two?) subgenres of sung mime. Aristocles makes the singular affirmation (*ap. Athen.* 14. 621d *πολλάκις δὲ οἱ μαγῶδοι καὶ κωμικὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες ὑπεκρίθησαν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν*, 'But often the magodists, though they took over their *plots* from comedy, acted them according to their own style and disposition' [transl. Ch. B. Gulick]) that the magody took 'plots' (*ὑποθέσεις*) from the comedies, adapting them according to their inventiveness. This should be compared to the words inscribed on the famous Hellenistic lamp in Athens (ca. 225 BCE. See fig. 4) which shows a mimed scene glossed by a creatively spelt inscription, which reads: *μιμολῳγοι* (= *μιμολόγοι*), *υποθεσις* (= *ὑπόθεσις*), *εικυρα* (= *Ἑκυρά*).<sup>376</sup> In the past, the second term was rightly or wrongly connected with the aforementioned testimony of Plutarch's<sup>377</sup> according to which dramatic mimes were termed *ὑποθέσεις*, while others believe that *ὑπόθεσις* is here used in the most general sense of 'plot'.<sup>378</sup> Be that as it may, it can also undeniably be connected with Aristocles' statement according to which the writers of mimes adapted the *κωμικὰς ὑποθέσεις* of famous plays, as proved by the third word on the lamp which recalls the title of a comedy by Apollodorus of Carystus (*Apollod. Car. fr. 8-14 K.-A.*), later recycled in Rome by Terence for his *Hecyra*. Furthermore, we have already cited the case of the mime of *The Arbitration* (PLitLond 97 - second cent. CE), whose plot would seem to echo something of Menander's *Epitrepontes*. Far from being a separate entity from official literature, then, submerged literature lives in osmotic relation with emerged literature, which, once examined, could open up a variety of avenues for further study.



**Fig. 1** Corinthian Dümmler krater (Louvre E 632; ca. 600-590 BCE): upper and lower band. Drawing by E. R. Malyon (Csapo and Slater 1994, Pl. 18a, b)



**Fig. 2** Kabeiran vase from Thebes: Odysseus and Circe (London, Brit. Mus. 93.3-3.1 = Kat. 398 B.-H.) (Bieber 1920, Abh. 135).



**Fig. 3** New York Goose Play (Tarporley Painter?) Metropolitan Museum of Art – New York 24.97.104 (Taplin 2007, figure 5)



**Fig. 4** Actors of Mime on the Hellenistic lamp in Athens (ca. 225 BCE.) (Bieber 1920, Abh. 142)

# Out of Athens. Ritual Performances, Spaces, and the Emergence of Tragedy<sup>379</sup>

## 1 Introductory remarks

In this paper, I intend to map out some of the occasions which may have prompted the production of texts that are contiguous with tragedy. Employing the spatial dimension of tragedy as an orienting hermeneutic framework, the aim is to fathom, or at least estimate, the range of submerged texts surrounding tragedy, and identify the factors that might account for this genre's emergence.

When the hermeneutic model of submerged literature is applied to tragedy, two kinds of submerged texts stand out: on the one hand, and mainly on the synchronic axis,<sup>380</sup> there are texts designed to complement ritual performances; on the other, there are the submerged texts of tragedies and by tragic poets. Since the latter issue has been the object of other contributions in this volume, I will mainly concentrate on tracing the map of ritual performances and their attendant submerged texts. This inquiry, we shall see, is conducive to reframing tragedy itself.<sup>381</sup>

### 1.1 Definitions and landmarks

If we define 'occasion' as the living and encompassing context within which the phenomenon of an aesthetically marked discourse becomes significant,<sup>382</sup> tragedy may be defined in this respect as an 'agon-based ritual performance enacted within the space of a *theatron*'. The term 'tragedy' is thus intended as tragedy-in-context, thereby incorporating, and somehow privileging, the non-textual dimension of tragedy.

This is a working definition, and stands, as definitions do, on slippery ground. I shall use it mainly as a heuristic tool, which is to say, as a guide through which to explore a largely

unknown territory (whilst bearing in mind that ‘the map is not the territory’).<sup>383</sup>

In order to step onto firmer ground, however, and provide a guide to the arguments that follow, I shall state a few of the assumptions and methodological points underlying this investigation.

## 1.2 Space, hierarchy of contexts

The present essay builds upon a number of studies that have helped understand tragedy not only as an artistic textual product, but also as religious discourse, ritual performance, and political institution.<sup>384</sup>

In order to deal with ‘tragedy-in-context’, however, we require a model capable of taking into account all of the above-mentioned aspects and readings *simultaneously*. We must be able to represent them in their dynamic and meaningful interplay rather than as discrete provinces. Of course, these several aspects can (and often ought to) be the object of separate study; on the other hand, reducing tragedy to any of them would amount to a culturally determined misconception.<sup>385</sup> On the assumption that ‘without context there is no communication’, we may profitably reason in terms of contexts and hierarchies of contexts:<sup>386</sup> tragedy in itself is a context placed within larger contexts (the festivals, the polis, etc.)<sup>387</sup> – one in which ‘religious’ and ‘political’ issues are equally relevant in so far as they informed debate within the polis and were the object of public concern. In modern understanding, ‘religion’ and ‘politics’ stand as separate domains, to the extent of constituting an opposing pair.<sup>388</sup> The ancient Greeks, however, did not draw distinctions along the same lines.<sup>389</sup> In ancient Greece, we may say, the *public space*, at once concrete and symbolic, acted as the higher context; it is the larger unit encompassing what we would see as religious and political elements, and in relation to which those contexts took on their meaning.

From the earliest written documentation, the setting and management of Greek public spaces testifies consistently to the utter degree of integration and interconnection of the political and religious spheres within a common space. Homer described an area of the Achaean camp in front of Odysseus’ ships, ‘where there was their place of gathering (ἀγορή), where they gave sentences (θέμις), and whereby they also built altars of the gods (θεῶν ἐτετεύχαιο βωμοί)’, *Il.* 11. 808.

Within the bounds of this space the functions we would discriminate as political (i.e. the assembly), judiciary (for the settling of disputes and quarrels), and religious (acting as sacrificial space) were thus combined.<sup>390</sup> Such a space is by no means an exceptional case in Homer and we may well take it as a blueprint for Greek public spaces. As a matter of fact, even a cursory glance at the Athenian agora (fig. 1) makes the continuity apparent. In the sacred area of the agora, shrines and statues of gods and heroes coexisted with political buildings (i.e. the Tholos), judicial courts (the Heliaea), and spaces for performances (e.g. the Orchestra), as 'pieces of the same continent', where divine, political, and spectacular domains were but intertwining threads of civic fabric, contexts within a context. This public space is a key to understanding the polysemy of the word *agon* in Athenian public discourse, a term whose meaning ranges from 'assembly', to 'judicial debate', to 'theatrical performance'. Within the fourth-century framework, gatherings took place in multi-functional spaces rather than in buildings, and these spaces were undifferentiated with regard to boundary discriminations (political, religious, spectacular that were drawn subsequently).<sup>391</sup>

### 1.3 Ritual and performance

I will refer to the term 'ritual' as it has been used in the last thirty years or so, particularly after the work of Geertz.<sup>392</sup> Evidence from anthropological fieldwork has shaken the long-held assumption of a ritual being strictly connected to a set of religious beliefs or the goals of individuals, by showing, on the one hand, the intrinsic ambiguity and instability of opinions and symbols in connection to ritual action<sup>393</sup> and, on the other, that ritual is a two-way communication, mostly involving questions about participation, civic identity, and empowering processes, far beyond the strictly 'religious' sphere.<sup>394</sup> This point should be stressed, since in the domain of ancient Greek studies it is still common to narrow the scope of the term and understand 'ritual' solely as 'religious ritual'.<sup>395</sup>

A recent volume has significantly widened the scope of the term 'performance' with particular reference to democratic Athens,<sup>396</sup> showing that from the Assembly to the theatre and law-courts a practice of display and performance dominated the public arena. In this context, the audience took on a

particularly active role in the sense that participating as a spectator was 'a fundamental political act' (a description particularly true and relevant for theatrical audiences).<sup>397</sup> The festival of the Great Dionysia was, in this regard, the foremost performance of fifth-century Athenian culture, where 'the combination and tension between plays and rituals' made the festival as 'the constitutive performance of the citizen as θεατής'.<sup>398</sup>

The term *choros* can be aptly used as an indicator of the coexistence of the aforementioned aspects: a *choros* can be analyzed as having a religious dimension, being connected to a god as most *choroi* are; an *agonistic* dimension, in so far as *choroi* may perform to win a more or less formalized *agon* (from the *choroi* of Alcman to the Spartan *Gymnopaideiae*); and an inescapable socio-political dimension as they may represent (and catalyse the identity of) age-groups as well as subdivisions within the polis, such as the tribes in the Athenian dithyrambic *choroi*. To train and to perform in a *choros* was one of the ways to build and to display individual identity in and belonging to a community, be it that of Sparta or of democratic Athens, with the countless characterizations that each *choros* expressed: under the name *choros* we should probably understand the first and foremost basic educational training in the ancient Greek world.<sup>399</sup> *Choros* is the term by which Athenians metonymically defined tragedy itself.<sup>400</sup>

## 2 Taking place

I have chosen to carry out my investigation by looking at the spaces that are homologous and comparable to the space of tragedy, as stated above.<sup>401</sup> Spaces and places are first of all pivotal coordinates of any occasion: space not only plays an overarching role as a context for the elements at stake, as has been already argued, it also does so in a most pregnant fashion. As Smith has insightfully observed, a ritual, as much as any performance, always *takes place* somewhere; places, indeed, are the semantic frame within which ritual action becomes informed as such.<sup>402</sup> Thirdly, space is a fundamental element of non-verbal communication: on the one hand, proxemics teaches us to see what Hall defined as the 'hidden dimension' – that is, the significance, codes, and impact of both spatial arrangements and the distance between the



partners in an interaction (whether this be verbal or non-verbal); on the other hand, buildings, urban settings, and less marked social spaces also form an integral part of communicational interaction.<sup>403</sup> Homology of spatial setting may indicate homology of function, so that the analysis of spatial context through the proxemic lens may reveal what is understood and eloquently hidden in the Athenian cultural context, and yet opaque to our culturally determined understanding.

In the fifth century BCE, tragedy took place in specific surroundings, although these were by no means special, unique or 'native' to tragedy: if Athens is to be regarded as the motherland of dramatic theatre, it certainly was not the creator of the theatre building,<sup>404</sup> nor was theatre originally germane to dramatic contests.

In a pioneering work on ancient theatres, Anti set out on his investigation from the premise that 'we should deal with the theatre-building regardless of the events taking place therein. They could be of multifarious nature: religious, political, agonistic, merely spectacular etc.; they always take place without distinction in a theatre'.<sup>405</sup> Following his suggestion, we shall regard theatres in the Greek sense of *theatron* as 'a place for seeing' (LSJ), that is 'a space, slope or natural hollow whatsoever arranged for the vision of a spectacular event, where a place is provided for performers of the event and another space for the viewers'. Retrieving thus the pregnancy of the word *theatron*, allows us to better appreciate the integration of religion, politics, and spectacle in the very management of public spaces in ancient Greece.<sup>406</sup> As we have seen, spectacular, religious, and political elements are to a different degree all germane to performance, and they stand together as interconnected parts of the same public and spatial network.

Below, I shall review the spaces I have classed as structures for viewing (i.e., structures with a designated space for the audience and one for performing), and shall attempt to list a range of possible occasions and (submerged) texts designed for those spaces, as in a conceptual itinerary. The review is far from exhaustive, and the spaces under review are to be taken as significant instances of their class. Our itinerary sets out from the sanctuaries, then delves upon the agora to reach, finally, the southern slope of the Acropolis with the *theatron* of Dionysus Eleuthereus. It is hoped that this theatre will eventually appear somehow different from its customary



image.<sup>407</sup> This would mark a success in one of the objectives of this investigation of submerged literature, namely that of decentralizing Athens.

## 2.1 First typology: sanctuaries

Several sanctuaries hosted different sorts of performances, not necessarily of a religious kind only; within the sanctuaries, a special space, a *theatron*, was devoted to performance.<sup>408</sup> Although it is highly plausible that the same applied to most sanctuaries, only in some are we able to identify an area for performance. In recent years, Nielsen has focused her attention on these spaces, functionally identified under the name of 'cultic theatres'.<sup>409</sup> These spaces range from the better known Eleusis and Brauron to Perachora and Sparta.<sup>410</sup> The structure of these cultic theatres was such as to allow room for an audience (the frontal staircase of a temple, an enclosed area, or even a *cavea*)<sup>411</sup> and a space for the action, which 'was often the central area of the *temenos* around the altar and so very close to the temple. Thus the temple itself might be used as a backdrop, while the altar could, in some instances, be used as a stage, as also could the *pronaos* (vestibule) of the temple'.<sup>412</sup>

The ancient Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (fig. 2) is an early example of a performance-space which had the altar and temple for centre, around which stood the space for the audience.<sup>413</sup> In the second century BCE, the Romans built an amphitheatre around the altar, emphasizing the central role of the altar and of the rituals connected to it.<sup>414</sup> The sanctuary was active from the ninth century at least; we know that, in the seventh century, Alcman instructed *choroi* of young girls in Sparta, and we may well imagine the setting to have been the very sanctuary of Orthia. Moreover, in the area of the sanctuary hundreds of clay masks were found among other *ex voto*, suggesting a possible use for dramatic purposes (fig. 3).<sup>415</sup>

The *Amphiareion* of Oropos, a healing and oracular centre, hosts a fifth-century stepped structure (fig. 4) intended as a sort of *cavea* for an audience; it has the altar as its centre, and an inscription explicitly defines it *to theatron to kata ton bomon*, 'the *theatron* by the altar'.<sup>416</sup>

Lacking appropriate evidence, we may only attempt to draw an open list of types of texts designed for the occasions which took place at these venues, and conjure up possible

scenarios.<sup>417</sup> First and foremost we may cite processions and processional songs. Processions were among the most salient features of ancient Greek religious and public life, displaying an overt performative character.<sup>418</sup> They were, among other things, a way for the community to represent itself in its manifold aspects and subdivisions, as in the notorious instance of the *pompe* opening the Great Dionysia. According to several scholars, tragedy developed out of the singing of the *tragodoi* at the arrival of the procession;<sup>419</sup> from the point of view of proxemics, at any rate, processions bear more than a resemblance with tragedy. As Kavoulaki has remarked, 'at its most basic the theatrical performance consisted of an array of people (*choros*) moving along the *parodos* (...), reaching a *stasis* (station) to perform a ritual singing and dancing (*stasimon*) in honour of a god, and finally exiting (*exodus*)'.<sup>420</sup> The *theatra* in the sanctuaries may well have marked the arrivalpoint for processions, as witnessed with the procession of the Great Dionysia.

Alongside the *prosodoi*, we may enlist the ensemble of processional songs produced for the *pompai* as submerged texts.

**Sacrifices and Sacrificial Songs.** Sacrifice is by all means a ritual performance and an event to be staged at the sanctuary, as well as theatres: at the *theatron* on the altar of the *Amphiareion* at Oropos, a ritual performance focussing on sacrifice seems to have been customary.<sup>421</sup> The proxemic structure envisaged the god in the honorific position of first and foremost spectator, as main recipient of the ritual, whose benevolence and favour was to be secured and maintained.<sup>422</sup> The altar usually faced the temple and took centre position along the line of sight of the audience – a centrality to be regarded as far from merely symbolic. Sacrifices were never silent, and involved prayers, song, and dance.<sup>423</sup> Most of these celebratory texts did not survive the time of their performance.<sup>424</sup>

**Ritual Drama.** The issues involved in the association of 'ritual' and 'drama' are manifold and complex, and have been dealt with recently by Csapo and Miller.<sup>425</sup> For our present concern, under this conventional heading we may list mimetic representations in which one or more persons acted as a god (probably a priest), and which had the *theatron* at the sanctuary as their natural venue.<sup>426</sup> In a cursory listing we may first of all cite the *hieros gamos*, a particular form of ritual drama, first attested in the scene of Ares and Aphrodite

in *Od.* 8. 266–366, as Palmisciano has shown.<sup>427</sup> In Athens, a *hieros gamos* was performed every year at the *Anthesteria* in the *Boukoleion*, with the archon *basileus* acting as Dionysus and the *basilinna* as Ariadne.<sup>428</sup> At the same Dionysian festival, ritual performances of a different kind were represented, onto which the *agones chytrinoi* were later grafted.<sup>429</sup> Nielsen has gone so far as to suggest that the mimetic structure of sacred drama be regarded as the middle term between the singing of hymns by the chorus *in propria persona* and the mimesis of tragedy.<sup>430</sup> Even without endorsing such a connection (one that touches upon the problem of the origins of tragedy), we may assume that ritual drama was somehow felt as connected to tragic telling,<sup>431</sup> and was quite widespread; admittedly, however, most testimonies are late and relate to the mysteries. On the subject of the notorious phrase *ouden pros ton Dionyson*, upon which much has been said, I should like to underline a neglected aspect: namely how the phrase seems intended to mark the absence of a signal element, *scil.* ritual drama, otherwise present at spatial and festive contexts comparable to the Great Dionysia, emphasizing the unfulfilled expectations of those who viewed a performance dealing precisely with the god's deeds and glory.

## 2.2 Second typology: the agora

As Kolb has shown, the agora as a gathering place and the theatre as a viewing place are tightly connected in the civic settings of ancient Greece.<sup>432</sup> We shall take as examples the agora of Sparta and of Athens.

**The Agora of Sparta.** The Spartan agora presently stands as a field submerged by olive trees, in blatant contrast to the constantly and rewardingly excavated agora of Athens (the 'cradle of all democracies', in modern readings and the cultural projections of contemporary scholarship).<sup>433</sup> Recent contributions have documented how the early assimilation of classical Sparta to Nazi Germany doomed Spartan studies (including archaeology) to utter neglect, amounting to a modern instance of a 'submerged culture'.<sup>434</sup> Greco has recently surveyed the remains of the Spartan agora, proposing novel interpretations: in particular, Greco was able to identify a circular building composed of two perfectly concentric round structures as the sixth-century Spartan *Skias*.<sup>435</sup> The building was designed by Theodorus of Samos

(Paus. 3. 12. 10), and later served as a model for the Athenian *Tholos*, also known as *Skias*. Pausanias (3. 12. 10) reports that, in the *Skias*, Spartans *ekklesiazousin*,<sup>436</sup> a verb to be taken in the broad sense of 'to gather'. The purpose of this perfectly circular structure cannot be further ascertained, but we may safely regard the *Skias* as a *theatron*, used for diverse sorts of performances. We may cite, e.g., the *choroi* of the *Gymnopaediae*, following Pausanias' indication (3.11.9) of a place called *Choros* 'because at the *Gymnopaediae*, a festival that the Lacedaemonians take more seriously than any other, the boys perform dances in honour of Apollo'.<sup>437</sup>

**The Agora of Athens.** (fig. 1) The Athenian agora was similarly a multifunctional public space,<sup>438</sup> and, alongside its political and juridical functions, provided the setting for a host of rituals, first among which was the festival of the Great Dionysia. Neither Thespis and Pratinas nor the young Aeschylus performed their dramas at a theatre: at least until the 70<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (500/499 – 497/6), dramatic contests were performed in the agora, where temporary wooden scaffolds, called *ikria*, were set up to provide seating for the occasion. About two decades after the *ikria* ruinously collapsed in 499, construction of the theatre of Dionysus began. Still, even after the collapse of the *ikria*, several parts of the festivals were held in the agora.<sup>439</sup> The altar of the Twelve Gods, on the north-western part of the new agora, was one of the significant venues for the rituals: the statue of Dionysus was greeted in a *xenismos* and was probably accompanied by singing and dancing, whatever the connection with the rituals surrounding the *eisagogé apo tes escharas*.<sup>440</sup> Xenophon (*Hipparch.* 3.2–3) speaks of the *choroi* of the Dionysia paying homage to the Twelve Gods and to other gods in the agora.<sup>441</sup> The Royal Stoa was probably another location for performances (possibly of a dramatic kind), since there is an early fourth-century inscription at the base of a Herm on the steps of the Royal Stoa recording the names of comic and tragic poets.<sup>442</sup> Finally, the main site within the agora for musical and choral performances was obviously the Orchestra, Pindar's dithyrambic fragment 75 being the best-known attestation.<sup>443</sup> The Orchestra was still a place for performance when the Romans built an Odeion on the site (Paus. 1.14.1; Hesych. s.v.).<sup>444</sup> Warning against the dangers of teatrocracy, Plato (*Laws* 817 b–c) attests that the agora continued to be a popular place for dramatic performances where stages were still set up (*skenas te pexantes*) wick

somehow recalled the *ikria*.

Foremost among the submerged texts performed at occasions celebrated in the agora were certainly the *choroi* and cultic hymns – a heading we should primarily take to cover the ‘phallic hymns’ and ‘sacred songs’ mentioned by Aristotle, though also a varied range of songs that were deeply embedded in Greek cultic life and were normal practice in civic education, as I have already pointed out.<sup>445</sup>

## 2.3 Third typology: *theatra* in the Attic demes

We are well informed about the dramatic performances taking place at the demes,<sup>446</sup> and also know that in some instances the *theatron* preexisted the dramatic *agones*. Of the four surviving theatres (out of the fourteen attested in the demes), we shall look in particular at those theatres of Rhamnous and Thorikos.<sup>447</sup>

The theatre of Rhamnous is better described as a *theatron* (fig. 5) since it exploits a natural slope for spectators and a terrace for performance. It was the chief public space of the deme and a focus for the demesmen’s public attention, with sacrificial altars, seats of honour, and stone tablets as ‘vicarious spectators, occupying the honorific front row’.<sup>448</sup> The theatre also served as agora for the people of Rhamnous, as an inscription explicitly attests;<sup>449</sup> further, it was the destination to which the sacred way led – the point of arrival for a procession trailing up the hillside along the sacred way. In terms of proxemics, the design of this space reveals the centrality of the procession: instead of facing the centre of the performance area, as would be expected, the *prohedria* seats face eastward, as if to welcome the arrival of the procession.

Thorikos, home to the tragic poet Carcinus, is a site of paramount importance in the archaeology of Greek theatres, since its fifth-century theatre (whose most ancient foundations date back to the sixth century) is the only standing theatre of the period.<sup>450</sup> Its stone structure rests against a natural slope (fig.6); it has a quadrilateral orchestra, and linear stone terraces to seat the audience. The theatre was the space of public gatherings at Thorikos, and was the context for diverse events: assemblies, sacrifices, dramatic contests. Although most of the communal performances held at Thorikos revolved around public sacrifices,<sup>451</sup> it seems that over the course of the fifth century dramatic performances bore the upper hand: what is especially significant to our

theme is that this theatre should have emerged to attract audiences from all of southern Attica. Recent studies have shown that the names of the *choregoi* were regularly recorded, and that their appointment was (at least on occasion) awarded by means of something comparable to an auction, a token of the prestige the community bestowed on dramatic performances.<sup>452</sup>

Conceived as multifunctional spaces to fulfill the functions of sanctuary, agora, and *theatron*, these theatres could host processions (as the proxemics of the seats of honour in the theatre at Rhamnous suggest), sacrifices, possibly ritual drama, *choroi*, and, from the fifth century onwards, dramatic performances as well.

## **2.4 Fourth typology: the *theatron* of Dionysus Eleuthereus**

The examination of earlier theatre structures, cursory though it has been, brings to light an almost wholly neglected fact: the spatial conception of the theatre of Dionysus was by no means original. Sometime after the *ikria* collapsed in the agora, the Athenians identified the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus, on the southern slope of the Acropolis, as a suitable place for dramatic contests. In order to visualize the fifth-century theatre, we should resort to the idea of a *theatron* rather than a theatre: in keeping with the practice of their time, fifth-century tragedians staged their plays within a *space*, and *not* a building. Recent excavations have made it possible to reconstruct fifth-century performance spaces (fig. 7) as composed of an earthen rectangular orchestra, removable stage and scenery, low trapezoid terraces formed by *temporary* rising tiers of wooden benches,<sup>453</sup> the temple on the western side, and the altar (where sacrifices took place) at the centre of the orchestra.<sup>454</sup>

Elements of continuity and innovation stand out. On the one hand, the *theatron* still conforms with the type we first discussed, the *theatron* at sanctuaries; this is unsurprising, since the separation of the sanctuary from the theatre only took place in the fourth century.<sup>455</sup> Much in the likeness of the theatres in the demes, furthermore, the theatre of Dionysus also served as an institutional space for the Assembly that followed the festival, as well as other gatherings on which we are ill informed.<sup>456</sup>

With regard to the submerged texts performed at the

theatre on the Acro-polis, among which dithyramps and satyr drama stand out, I will only touch upon the first type, as satyr drama has been already dealt with.<sup>457</sup> Although no cultic dithyramps are extant<sup>458</sup> a small set of texts performed at the Great Dionysia survives: their fortune, undoubtedly, reflects the reputation enjoyed by their authors, Pindar and Bacchylides. Choral performance was certainly the central event of the occasion: to each of the ten tribes, the performance of dithyrambic *choroi* represented the occasion for self-definition and selfassertion before the polis, and, no less importantly, because of the long and heated preparation it required, it counted probably as much as the sung text, if not more. It is indeed plausible that, unlike tragedy, the focus of the occasion was on the *agon* over the text. In support of this reading we may note that victory was assigned to the tribe and not to the poets (with the subsequent staging of the tripods along the route leading from the agora to the theatre),<sup>459</sup> and that, unlike tragic poets, the dithyrambic poet could be, and often was, a foreigner (possibly of Panhellenic renown), whereas the *choreutai* had to be strictly Athenian tribesmen.<sup>460</sup>

### 3 The emergence of tragedy

Because they were transmitted orally and nested in tradition, the texts produced for most ritual performances were most often doomed to submersion. We may certainly agree with Palmisciano that 'as long as Greek culture was oral/aural and poetry was linked to an occasion, the only factor capable of causing a poetic genre to disappear was the disappearance of the occasion that produced it'.<sup>461</sup> Tragedy, on the other hand, whilst being framed within the proxemic and cultural oral context of ritual performance, soon enough emancipated itself from the strictures of *hic et nunc* performance and took on a course quite unlike dithyramb and satyr drama, as Finkelberg has shown.<sup>462</sup> No theory has so far provided a sufficiently satisfactory account for the resilience of tragedy; as a contribution to the debate on this unresolved issue, I can only propose to offer a few additional considerations.

#### 3.1 *Agon* and excellence

With the exception of a few attested instances, it would seem



that the submersion of the typologies of texts discussed above was neither determined nor prevented by the competitive nature of the occasions at which they were performed.<sup>463</sup> Contrariwise, the competitive nature of the Great Dionysia does seem to have contributed to the prestige of tragedy and of individual tragic texts, since 'it was not simply the way the play was executed but what the play was that was important'.<sup>464</sup> The competitive nature of the occasion, we might say, triggered some sort of butterfly effect, which led to the texts becoming paragons of excellence not just to all Athenians, but also beyond the city bounds. Competition at the Great Dionysia may thus have played a comparable role vis-à-vis tragedy to the competitive performances of Homeric texts at the Panathenaea: in both cases, the *agon* instituted a principle of selection and fostered an interest in the quality of both the texts and the performance aspect *per se*, over and above their conventional and ritual character. The Panathenaea and Great Dionysia were also instrumental, in the long run, in the preservation of Homeric and tragic texts alike, as argued by Rossi.<sup>465</sup> Over the years, the festival of the Great Dionysia became increasingly central to the Athenian agenda and grew in magnificence,<sup>466</sup> attracting an international audience; the Panhellenic dimension of the Great Dionysia certainly enhanced the effort for textual and performative excellence, and became in time another obvious factor of emergence.<sup>467</sup> Athenians came to regard the tragic *agon* as being the high point of the festival, an impressive showcase for Athenian discourse.<sup>468</sup> As Longo first highlighted, several civic ceremonies were held and proclamations made before the tragic *agones* 'to be celebrations of the polis and of its ideology':<sup>469</sup> tributes paid by Athens' allies were paraded in a procession, generals poured libations, panoplies were bestowed on war orphans, honorific crowns were awarded, the slayers of aspiring tyrants were thanked with a special award.<sup>470</sup> Bearing the obvious affinities of ritual and spatial context in mind, we may venture to say that the competitive slant of tragic performance and the concern with artful excellence that ensued are the ingredients that made tragedy as an occasion emerge over other ritual performances.<sup>471</sup> The esteem in which these texts were held in antiquity also played an important role in their diffusion: Easterling has in this sense argued for 'a close interconnection between the popularity of certain plays in the repertoire and the demand



### 3.2 The *theatron* of Dionysus Eleuthereus

For all its elements of continuity with previous structures, we should not underestimate the impact of the creation of the Athenian *theatron*. Our cursory examination of the diverse *theatra* has made apparent a seemingly neglected aspect: the very fact that a structure should be expressly constructed for viewing was unprecedented on the Panhellenic scene. In response to the disaster of the *ikria*, the Athenians furnished a space *explicitly designed* for the dramatic *agones* of the Great Dionysia: not only had the *ikria* of the agora proven fatally dangerous; they had henceforth become insufficient to host the growing crowds of spectators pouring in from all over Athens and beyond for the dramatic contests. True though it is that the theatre also served other functions, the whole purpose of its creation was to host the Great Dionysia, as we have seen, although this happened well into Aeschylus' career, decades after the dramatic contests had first been celebrated. The fact that a space chiefly intended for the Great Dionysia (albeit framed in the traditional setting of the sanctuary) should be distanced from the traditional agora resulted in the creation of something novel and distinct from other ritual performances, placing the dramatic element under a spotlight. In the agora and theatres at the demes, the venue for drama continued to be spatially undifferentiated; in Athens, the new venue created a short-circuit (the effects of which were enhanced by the surfacing of Attic tragedy on the Athenian public scene), and became a chief factor for the emergence of the events that took place therein.

### 3.3 The Athenian trademark

The festival of the Great Dionysia in general, and tragedy in particular, featured Athens as the 'best of the Greeks'; the event confirmed itself as central to the Athenian agenda and was perceived as a quintessentially Athenian feat, with a correlate in the fact that 'symbolically, the public expenditure marks each year's tragedies as the best effort of the Athenian polis'.<sup>473</sup> Tragedy was, first and foremost, *civic tragedy*; it was imbued with the Athenian debating style, which was part and parcel of Athenian public discourse and identity; finally, the Athenian seal lay in the requirement that the members of the

tragic chorus be Athenian, as well as the poets and the *choregoi*.<sup>474</sup> Aristophanes' *Frogs* and Lycurgus' canon clearly prove the centrality of tragedy for the city in the fifth and fourth centuries respectively.

This is not to deny the Panhellenic dimension of Attic tragedy; it is rather to say that, particularly in the instance of tragedy, Athens inverted the flow of talented poets and valuable texts 'from import to export'.<sup>475</sup> Starting with Pisistratus, Athens had long been busy appropriating the best poets and texts from those which enjoyed Panhellenic renown; with tragedy, however, Athens inverted this tendency and became herself the centre for the production of texts and poets acclaimed and sought after throughout the Greek world: these texts and poets now bore an unmistakable Athenian trademark, Panhellenic *qua* Athenian.

Moreover, if we discounted the vested interest of the Athenian polis in preserving the texts, we could hardly account for the selective process whereby a number of poets and texts were intentionally saved from submersion. Significantly, the process began with Aeschylus, who was canonized among his contemporaries and could already be regarded as a survivor by the time he was dead.<sup>476</sup>

### 3.4 Reperformance

The practice of reperforming 'old drama' (the *palaion drama*) was another compelling factor of emergence: starting as early as 386 BCE,<sup>477</sup> the practice suggests that, early on in the fifth century, the Athenians appreciated the value and significance of these texts as *texts*, independently of the *hic et nunc* context of the performance.<sup>478</sup>

In the third century BCE, *agones* were expressly held to bring ancient tragedies, ancient comedies, and ancient satyr dramas back on stage (most probably in the form of excerpts performed by virtuoso actors). Before long, reperformances became 'a crucial development for the formation of acting troupes who travelled round the different festivals of the Greek-speaking world.'<sup>479</sup>

### 3.5 Lycurgus' canon

Through the practice of reperformance first, and then more markedly with Lycurgus' canon, tragedy came to stand as the first and most significant case of a living canon and of the

canonization of a genre. At about the time at which Heraclides Ponticus composed a treaty *On the three tragedians* (fr. 179 Wehrli), the politician Lycurgus established a public text sanctioning the survival of the tragic triad as canonized into the material memory of text and images, consistently with his agenda:<sup>480</sup>

τὸν δέ, ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν,  
Αἰσχύλου Σοφοκλέους Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγωδίας  
αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς  
πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς  
ὑποκρινομένοις οὐκ ἐξεῖναι γὰρ παρ' αὐτὰς  
ὑποκρίνεσθαι

Lycurgus decreed that bronze statues be made of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; that their tragedies be copied and preserved under public auspices (or 'in the city archives'),<sup>481</sup> and be read aloud to (or 'collated for') the actors by the city clerk: for they were not permitted to perform contrary to these (*scil.* copies). Plut. *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 841 (transl. R. Scodel).

Lycurgus' initiative is paradigmatic of what Rossi identified as the agency of the polis in governing the preservation of texts.<sup>482</sup> Scodel rightly notes that the philological tenor of the initiative (the ostensible establishment of a correct text as such) is quite secondary to the proclamation of 'the tragedians as worthy of regulated performance on the Homeric model' and as an outstanding constituent of Athens' national treasure.<sup>483</sup> Battezzato, in this regard, has rightly likened the tragic texts to the body of laws and legal documents, in so far as they were read aloud by the *grammateus* and preserved in the polis' archive – a parallel illustrative of the exceptional status of tragic texts in the fourth century.<sup>484</sup> Moreover, Lycurgus' institution of the text as Athenian *agalma* is to be assessed jointly with the parallel strategy of erecting statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides in the theatre beside those of Miltiades and Themistocles: we may read these acts as the construction of a social memory and of collective identity grounded in that memory, whereby the past is framed as significant and authoritative for the present, and 'the word and the marble'

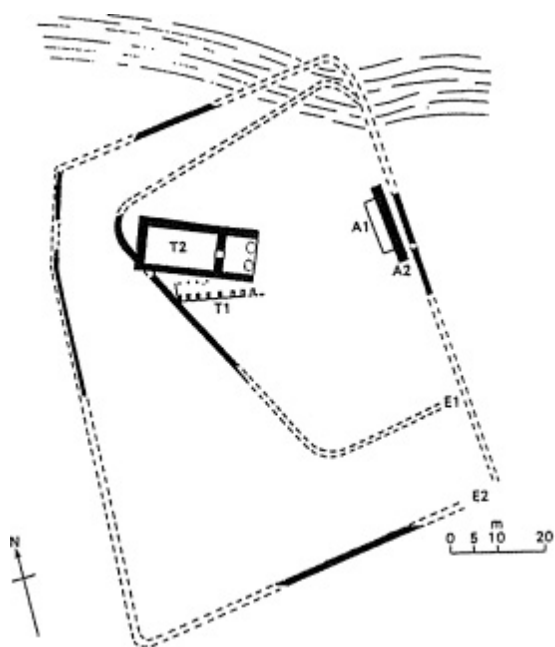
are cast as the treasure of the Athenian people.<sup>485</sup>

This canon, on the other hand, also determined the *ipso facto* submersion of most contemporary tragic poets (in spite of their celebrity), as in the instance of Alcidas II.<sup>486</sup> Yet, only a minute fragment remains of even the triad – and not necessarily the most significant. As Easterling has pointed out with regard to Sophocles' tragedies, 'the small sample transmitted through the manuscript tradition may be unrepresentative of Sophocles' work as perceived by contemporaries or by readers and audience who knew many more of the plays, including the satyr dramas'.<sup>487</sup>

These remarks fall short of accounting for factors of emergence after the fourth century, since the cultural framework I have attempted to outline does not also account for the subsequent development of tragedy as an export, a turn whereby tragedy chiefly came to signify a text out of (its original) context.<sup>488</sup> The factors of submersion were manifold, and the fate of individual texts needs to be investigated along different lines from those that have so far been customary.<sup>489</sup> Transmission, by and large, was determined by the agency of actors, as Easterling has shown;<sup>490</sup> it was also correlated to a text's multifunctionality, understood as the appropriateness of a text to the specific purposes and agendas that arose in future periods.<sup>491</sup>



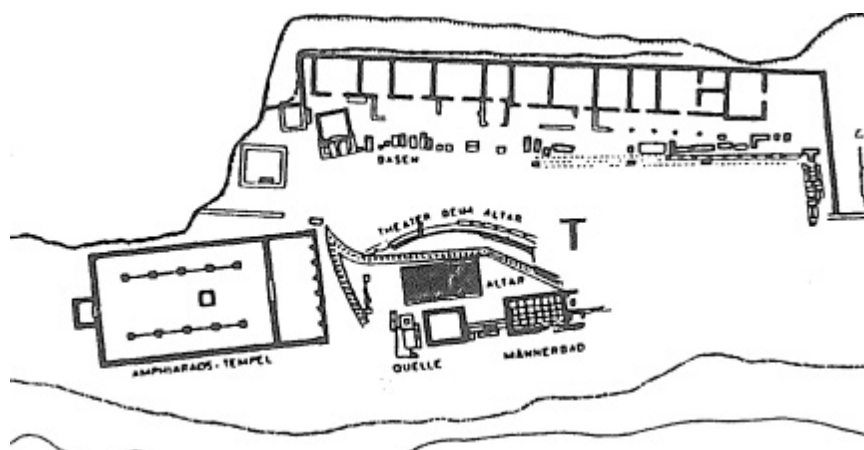
**Fig. 1** The Athenian Agora (Camp 2010)



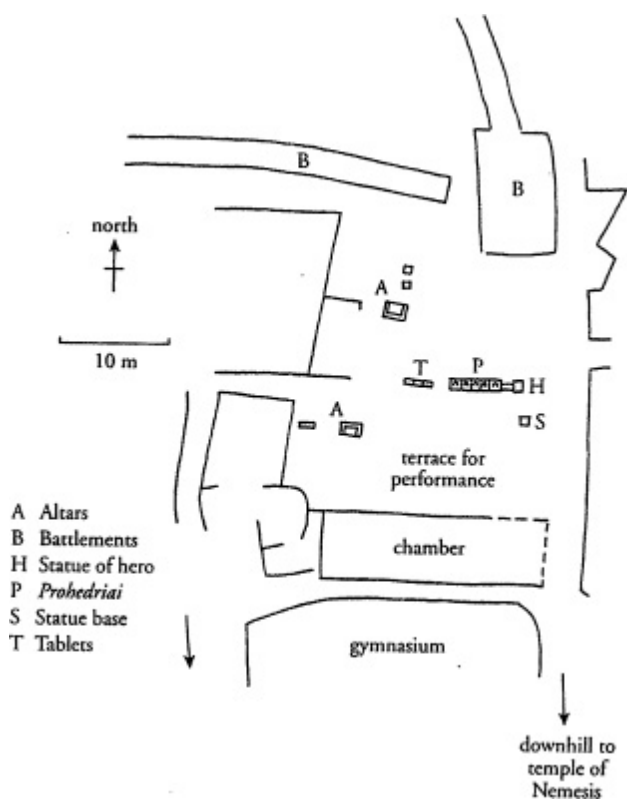
**Fig. 2** Sparta, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (Stibbe 1996)



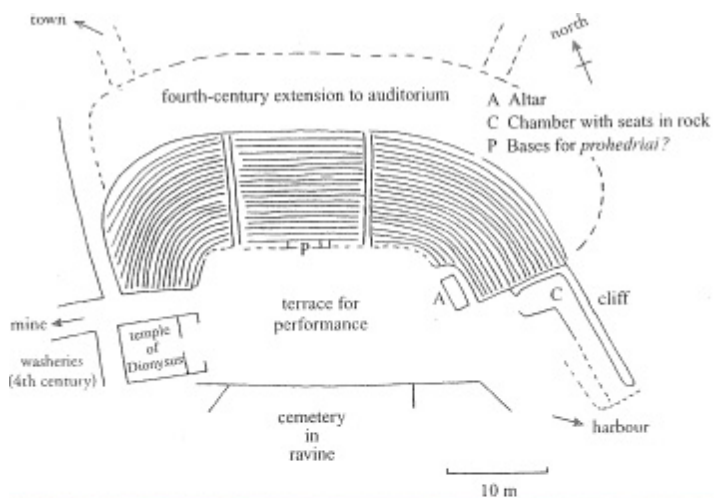
**Fig. 3** Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Mask (Photo courtesy of Riccardo Palmisciano)



**Fig. 4** Oropos, *To theatron to kata ton bomon* (Nielsen 2002)

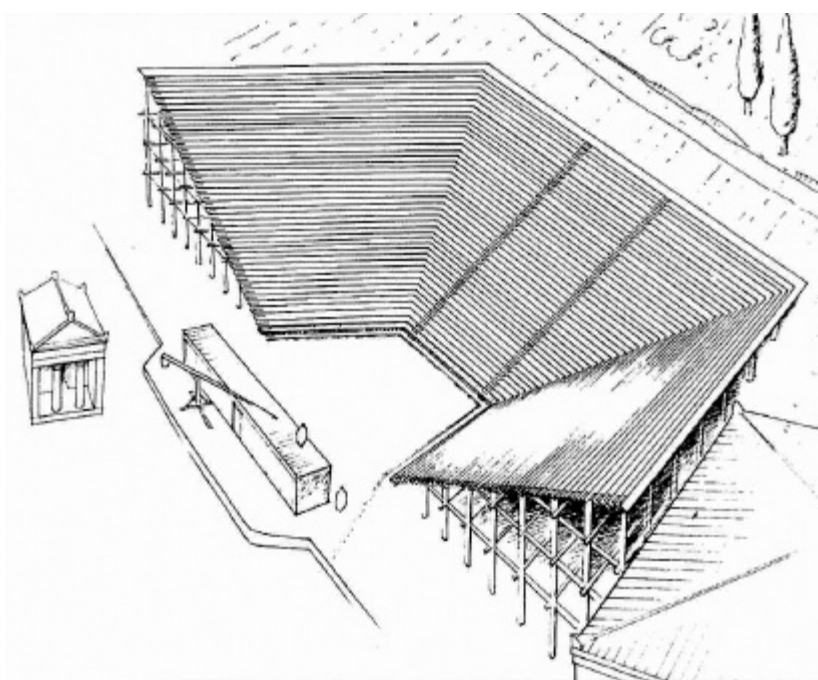


**Fig. 5** The *theatron* of Rhamnous (Wiles 1997)



**Fig. 6** The *theatron* of Thorikos (Wiles 1997 and satellite image)





**Fig. 7** The *theatron* of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens, fifth cent. BCE (hypothesis of reconstruction by N. Bresch, from Moretti 2000)

# By Way of Conclusion

## 1 Submerged Greek literature: a working definition

When dealing with ancient Greek literature, we are forced to confront the fact that the vast majority of texts produced in ancient Greece have not survived. With the present volume on submerged literature we have aimed to provide a method capable of accounting for the diverse array of texts produced for socially prominent occasions, and to investigate the dynamics presiding over the inclusion and exclusion of texts from the circuits of transmission.

In the course of our research, both constituents in the phrase ‘submerged literature’ underwent close scrutiny: ‘literature’ is to be regarded as an etic rather than an emic term,<sup>492</sup> to be used with all due caution, since no such term or conceptual category existed in the markedly oral and aural culture of ancient Greece.<sup>493</sup> The qualifying term ‘submerged’ is similarly used extensively to denote different typologies of texts – from works that were relevant to a local milieu but marginal on the Panhellenic scale, to those that were emergent at a certain period in time but were later submerged. The concept of submerged literature embraces several manifestations of verbal art which share the common trait of having always been, or of having at some stage become, marginal in the dynamics of textual circulation, conservation, and transmission.

The study of submerged literature requires a finer understanding of texts in the context of ancient Greek cultural communication and performance. We aim to foster a reappraisal of the overall textual output of ancient Greek culture and of available archaeological and iconographic sources not only within their specific domain, but also in the light of the data and methodologies afforded by ethnographic and anthropological studies beyond ancient Greece. In particular, we have endeavoured to identify a set of probing questions through which to encourage a fresh approach in viewing and assessing Greek texts. The inquiry addresses the

problematic issues that attend the creation, development, and transmission of Greek texts, arising from social and cultural practices long defined by the interlacing of orality and writing, and intimately bound to ritual and cultic aspects, musical and orchestric practices, and the shifting dynamics of patronage and performance.

## **2 Lost, emerged and submerged texts: dynamics of synchrony and diachrony**

In order to better assess and discriminate between texts, it is essential to distinguish between the terms ‘submerged’, ‘emerged’, and ‘lost’, for which the question of synchronic vs. diachronic perspectives becomes useful. The timeframe of ancient Greek cultural history extends over several centuries, from the archaic age to at least the Graeco-Roman phase of Hellenism. The phenomenon of submersion occurred in several waves, in many instances the result of specific historical and cultural conditions whereby certain categories of literary production did not gain access to the channels of transmission that could have ensured their emergence and survival.<sup>494</sup> On the one hand, then, we have ‘lost’ works, which is to say texts that did not survive into Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. On the other hand, we identify as ‘submerged’ those texts which for various reasons were never written down, or whose transmission was discontinued.

Far from being a chase after what, by its very definition, is wholly elusive, this research is an attempt to map out the invisible yet concrete context in which many texts and different genres took shape and underwent transformation. Throughout the volume, we refer to the contexts that engendered textual production by the key-term ‘occasion’. Moreover, in order to avoid reifying the submerged, we have taken pains to constantly envisage the emerged/submerged relation as dialectical; rather than marking clear-cut boundaries, we have merely attempted to locate the lines along which the dynamics of emerged/submerged, and canonical/non-canonical, tended to concentrate.

In order to better approach the origins of Greek culture and view the phenomenon of the submersion of texts in its development through time, we should bear in mind that in early Greek culture texts were linked to performance in a

society that was strictly oral, in which the occasions of performance were the only (but sufficient) guarantee for the texts to exist and survive.<sup>495</sup> It is therefore scarcely meaningful to reason in terms of 'high' and 'low' levels of textual production, publication, and transmission, or attempt to locate the dimension of submersion by such parameters: in a cultural system marked by broad anthropological uniformity, poetic output is by and large a subordinate function of the collective occasion for which it is conceived, and occasions all tend to have equal social standing.<sup>496</sup> At this stage, writing could only have a marginal impact on the system of communication, ensuring the persistence and success of certain texts over others. Writing gained in importance from the eighth century BCE on, though still not to the extent of altering the general framework of communication; author names, whether real or fictitious, became established as 'seals' for a given milieu, allowing a message to be traced to its source and domain of cultural pre-eminence. Under such conditions, the contingencies of occasion and of the attendant expressive traditions still took precedence over individual contributions in the creative process. With audiences relating to the contingent dimension of textual fruition, the reach of any poetic legacy was largely confined to the local dimension; the potential for diffusing local productions beyond the bounds of their original setting, and for the emergence of competitive dynamics among traditions, was still limited to a narrow territorial scale. There was no impulse to set in motion the selective processes of canonisation whereby certain texts would at once be favoured and safeguarded over others.<sup>497</sup>

In spite of the prevailing uniformity in the modes of poetic communication, at certain points in the archaic and late-archaic culture texts appeared which display the features of a conscious effort to stand out against the traditional literary conventions. Such developments in the expressive tradition prepared the ground for the dynamics of submersion which subsequently arose from changes in overall conditions and in the social settings of literary communication, as well as from the emergence of new forms of patronage, with its new demands and predilections. The earliest such wave of change, and undoubtedly the most momentous, can be placed around the final decades of the sixth and the early decades of the fifth century BCE, as the transition from the late-archaic to the early-classical age unfolded. As new social demands and trends emerged, the awareness of a distinctive qualitative

standing arose not just with individual authors but within certain domains of textual production, and with it came a call for recognition. Diverse factors conspired to determine the historical transition that ushered in the initial diversification in literary production we have identified as giving rise to the first wave of submersion. We may pinpoint these factors as: a) the affirmation of authorial status, whether real or fictitious (as in the instance of the Homeric 'seal'); b) the contractual regime of professionalization governing individual performances (by rhapsodes) and commissions (to choral lyric poets); c) the reification of the poem as a text established in writing on a broad scale, and separated from performance for the purpose of circulation;<sup>498</sup> d) the creation of what was probably the first great performative canon in Greek epico-rhapsodic literature, namely the Epic Cycle.<sup>499</sup> The munificence of tyrannical patronage, we may further add, bolstered notions of individual authorial standing as the context for poetic production steered in the direction of competitive market dynamics.<sup>500</sup>

In the turning point that made poets into professional figures, the epic rhapsodes took the lead shortly ahead of the choral lyricists, furnishing such authors as Simonides and Pindar with an authoritative precedent.<sup>501</sup> Epic poetry competitions on a grand scale such as those required by the tyrants of Athens in the second half of the late sixth century, or in Syracuse shortly after, must have involved forms of remuneration for the performers independent of the awards in the competition, and must have amounted to a contractualization of the rhapsodes' work.<sup>502</sup> We believe that in this sense, too, it was the most ancient and important genre, the epos, which marked the way, quickly followed by choral lyric poetry. Taken to its extreme consequences by poets like Simonides and Pindar, professionalism devoid of an exclusive relationship with the social environment for which the various texts had been produced fostered the presumption of the intrinsic value of the text regardless of the social dynamics for which it had been conceived, and regardless of the occasion of its performance.

The introduction of writing in projects of large-scale textual stabilization (e.g. the so-called Pisistratean recension of the Homeric epics), must have induced a discriminatory process grounded in: a) the concept that text in a written form had intrinsic value independent of performance, and b) the selection of what, in the very considerable panorama of poetic production, was more worthy of written preservation and

commercialization, partly to meet the demands of patrons no longer content to be simply celebrated during the passing moment of the oral occasion, but who desired exclusive possession of the object of prestige represented by the poetic text. It was this need to select the work best suited for specific performance occasions, and to be then conserved in writing, which lay the grounds for the first forms of canonization (e.g. the Epic Cycle *qua* Homeric poetry under the tyrannical government in Athens).

The choral lyricists were the first ancient Greek authors to meet the demands of the contemporary poetry market by canonising their own production:<sup>503</sup> several passages in Pindar appear to read as passing references or allusions to his competitors Simonides and Bacchylides, as if to indicate a closed circle of poets presuming on their self-legitimizing right to compete in the same market. An area meriting specific analysis is that of sympotic poetry, which was not subject to market forces as were other literary genres. Here the emergence of an author's name with regard to a poetic tradition follows processes to be analysed separately.<sup>504</sup>

Authors such as Simonides and Pindar, who composed practically every genre of lyric poetry, from sympotic to ritual poetry and epinician odes, have made it possible to extend the authorial principle to the whole of traditional poetry.<sup>505</sup> In the same way, and in the same period, the several theatrical forms which had hitherto developed anonymously, bound to the ritual occasions which had generated them, faced the novel transformative challenge of authorial drama developing in a number of places, not least Athens.<sup>506</sup>

Against this ostensibly higher-order level of poetic production, a dual process was set in motion determining the submersion of texts that did not match the new standards, on the one hand, and, on the other, dynamics in textual transmission based no longer on chance but on the relations the texts established among themselves in this system of shifting values. From the fifth century BCE onwards all the factors listed above played a determining role in setting apart first the poetry, and shortly later the prose, which aspired to special distinction against a production of texts which, albeit quantitatively considerable all over Greece, was unable to attain the same level. In the course of the fifth century (although the phenomenon was well under way in the last decades of the sixth), it was the cultural prestige of a number of cities, Athens in particular, that determined the crucial

imbalance both in the transmission of the traditional poetic heritage and in the success of the new production.

### **3 The weight of cultural and political geography: the case of Athens**

Another significant boundary-line is the influence of groups and/or geographical areas in determining the emerged/submerged polarity, in ways more or less documented and in variable degrees.

Athens features prominently as the main hub and decisive selection filter, in so far as she invested the most in the construction of her identity and power through narrative devices: story- and myth- telling (e.g. Homer, tragedy, comedy), public discourse of all sorts (e.g. oratory, *epitaphios logos*),<sup>507</sup> and the (re)creation and adaptation of narrative (i.e. historical and mythical) paradigms. The increasing centralization of textual production, starring Athens as undisputed protagonist, took place within the larger trend of Athens's increasing pre-eminence in the political and military spheres of ancient Greece. A shift ensued from the mainly polycentric pattern of production and circulation which had characterised Greece until the end of the archaic age, to a mainly centralised trend.

Looking at lyrical production between the eighth and the sixth century BCE, for example, everything that in some way came to be reused in the Attic symposia met with better transmission success than material that was not given the same exposure,<sup>508</sup> although the coincidence of place has to be viewed in the light of another factor too: namely, that all fifth-century poetry rising to Panhellenic as opposed to simply local prominence was produced by Athens and for Athens<sup>509</sup>. From Pisistratus to Lycurgus, Athens continually deployed a strategy of appropriation of diverse 'narratives' from all over the Greek world for use in the various Attic occasions and venues often created for this purpose (from symposia and festivals to theatre and assembly meetings). This process was a continual translation of narratives through Athenian filters, resulting in the selection and transformation of those texts and themes which fed into Athens' agenda, ultimately dooming to submersion whatever lacked this versatility. Themes, characters, and values bolstering or exalting

Athenian interests and values came to stand for what we perceive as Panhellenic to date. Athenian tragedy, fraught as it is with Attic adaptations of 'Panhellenic' mythical sagas and characters,<sup>510</sup> is the most forceful, even blatant, example of misreading as Panhellenic versions of the myth that are actually exquisitely Athenian (cf the examples of Oedipus and Orestes).

What this means on the level of cultural geography is that, in the majority of fifth-century Greek poleis outside Athens, what should technically be regarded as submerged production shared the same fate as the lost. Very similar dynamics applied to prose, when we consider that the texts eventually classified as historiography, rhetoric, philosophy, etc. had started out decades earlier as *logoi*, public addresses to audiences of varying size.<sup>511</sup> Very little of the prose produced outside Athens between the fifth and fourth century BCE was transmitted, probably on account of the fact that its circulation in the Greek world was merely local, or, at any rate, geographically limited.

Because prose works were for a large part technical and destined to a highly specific public, their submersion was almost immediate. In this case, then, it should be made clear how the dynamics of submersion and loss are quite distinct: while on the one hand the specific interest in such texts (in medicine, for example) would have determined their conservation, on the other, their collocation in the overall literary system was decidedly marginal. For all the reasons adduced here, we may estimate that, as regards quantity of texts, the prose component of submerged production far outweighed poetry.

The late fourth and early third century represented another point of discontinuity producing a further imbalance among genres and authors, and thus between the emerged and submerged: on the one hand, figures who can be defined as men of letters, and on the other the persistence of forms of expression considered as inferior by the literary world.<sup>512</sup> At the same time, the collecting and studying of texts intensified, building on previous groundwork developed above all by the Peripatetic School,<sup>513</sup> and producing professional figures who were at once erudite librarians and teachers. These scholars collected an impressive number of texts, classifying them according to genre, author, and typology of text, afterwards selecting them for use in teaching.<sup>514</sup> The outcome of this process was the taxonomy of texts and



literary categories with which we are familiar, and which the present volume has attempted to reappraise in a critical and historical perspective.

## 4 Balance and perspectives

Over the last decades, the study of ancient Greek literature and history has diverged. Scholars have frequently treated the works of literature as a selfstanding object, abstracted from the cultural development of the ancient world, isolated in time and space; little critical interest has been shown in analysing either the functions and target audience at a synchronic level, or the impact and reception at a diachronic level. This is not the place for an analysis of the history of twentieth-century critical theory; it is however necessary to unite the study of form with that of history, attempting to locate the specific forms vis-à-vis an author's intended readership. Besides submerged literature, then, we must consider that the concrete context of literary communication is, from our vantage point, also submerged (indeed, in this case, lost), and that we can only endeavour to reconstruct it from isolated and often later clues. Two hermeneutic cornerstones of the present volume should, then, be emphasized in these concluding remarks: the importance of *occasion*; and the need to revisit a number of modern literary categories which stand in an etic, but most certainly not emic, relation to ancient cultures, and are liable to engender several misapprehensions.

The category of 'literary genre',<sup>515</sup> particularly as applied to submerged literature, seems less than adequate. The origin of literary genres is to be sought in the occasions of publication and the codes required by each specific occasion; only when writing became the means of literary communication were genres defined and analysed. Literary reflection began when the link to the specific occasion was weakened or lost: the first to perform this operation were the writers of prose, Gorgias and then, more importantly, Isocrates.<sup>516</sup> The various forms of experimentation of new genres, in prose as in poetry, render the functions of the different genres and the target audience more complex to assess. Unlike the poetic genres of the archaic period, prose and many of the new poetic genres have a precise date of birth and inventor: historiography has a father in Herodotus, and philosophic dialogue was born with

Plato; in the field of poetry one example to adduce is that of bucolic poetry, which began with Theocritus. The only great prose genre without an inventor is oratory, which is also the only one with an oral pre-history and link with precise occasions: trials, assemblies and councils, local and Panhellenic assemblies.

In the light of the above, it is possible to claim that research into submerged texts could supply a hermeneutics bridging historical and literary methodologies, in so far as it is impossible to consider submerged literature without a global understanding of the many factors that brought about the submersion of a text or of a typology of texts. This new perspective has indeed called into question methods and approaches of both historical-anthropological and philological traditions, the boundaries of which have been found to recede in the research on submerged texts.

The framework of submersion may contribute to a more detailed understanding of the relations between text and society, allowing us to assess and more precisely evaluate the ideological value each text carried in the history of a given society.

We hope that the switch of framework provided by the investigation into submerged texts and the hermeneutic instruments thereby acquired may be applied to diverse perspectives and highlight dynamics of exclusion and inclusion in different fields and themes in ancient Greece and beyond, from religious studies to cultural anthropology.

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**1**  
Rossi 2000. On L. E. Rossi as historian of Greek literature see Nicolai 2013.

**2**  
'Fare una *recensio* della letteratura greca mai emersa a livello editoriale (termine improprio per tutto quello che precede il IV sec. a.C.: sarebbe meglio dire 'a livello di diffusione policentrica'). Tale letteratura non era stata protetta dalla polis o da una qualsiasi autorità - per così dire - istituzionale dal punto di vista letterario. '

**3**  
See Ercolani in this volume.

**4**  
Namely, Roberto Nicolai, who has succeeded Rossi on his chair, Maria Broggiato, Giulio Colesanti, Andrea Ercolani, Manuela Giordano, Laura Lulli, Michele Napolitano, Riccardo Palmisciano, Livio Sbardella, Maurizio Sonnino.

**5**  
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**6**  
See Morgan 1998, 90 f., Easterling 2002, 21. On the definition of an independent literary domain see Finkelberg 1998, Ford 2002, and Nicolai forthcoming.

**7**  
See Ercolani in this volume.

**8**  
Rossi 2000, 170: 'Con *letteratura 'sommersa'* io intendo [...] *testi* maltrattati fin dal primissimo inizio della trasmissione, o anche testi che non hanno avuto alcuna trasmissione affatto. Questi testi non hanno goduto di alcun *controllo* e di alcuna *protezione sia perché le varie comunità non avevano alcun interesse a conservarli* sia perché avevano, piuttosto,

interesse a nasconderli o addirittura a sopprimerli: quest'ultima categoria è rappresentata da quanto era legato ai misteri. Ma molti di questi testi, che dal nostro punto di osservazione giocano a nascondino, hanno avuto grande importanza nel configurare i vari momenti della cultura greca così come ci si presentano, ed è ovviamente nostro interesse cercare di rimetterli in luce, sia pure di necessità parzialmente. È per questo che da qualche tempo penso che sarebbe utile farne una raccolta, che dovrebbe configurarsi per testi integri (rari), per frammenti e infine per testimonianze. Non sarebbe un compito facile: ma varrebbe la pena affrontarlo' (my italics).

## 9

De Vries 1983 discusses modern histories of ancient Greek literature and certain (at times inevitable) limits in the treatment of authors and texts, making valid remarks on the correct theoretical approach to be taken. In essence, he advocates a historicist approach, calling for a revision of the concepts of 'literature' and 'literary genre'. See also, on these issues, Davies 1988.

## 10

Thus in the online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'literature' (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>).

## 11

See Jakobson 1960. A highly condensed form of this notion of literature is represented in the slogan 'literature as fiction'.

## 12

For a more detailed discussion of current trends in literary theory, see Culler 1997. For general reference on the issues, see the individual entries in Makaryk 1993. An overview of theoretical approaches to the history of ancient Greek literature is provided by de Vries 1983.

## 13

See Rossi 1995, 1-4.

## 14

Further aspects of the shortcomings of the term 'literature' vis-à-vis ancient Greek textual production will be clarified with more detail by other contributors to this volume. For a discussion of the current semantics of 'literature/literary' in

relation to classical texts, see Segal 1982.

## 15

On this point see Easterling 2002, 21–22.

## 16

On the absence in ancient Greek culture of a concept of ‘literature’ equivalent to ours, both inclusive and synthetic, see also de Vries 1983, 244.

## 17

These issues will be further discussed in this volume. I find the definition offered by Manuela Giordano in the course of our discussions to be particularly valid: ‘archaic Greek literature *is* a social institution’.

## 18

In different terms, though with extreme clarity, the point had been made by de Vries 1983, 243. The conceptual divide between the critical terminology of antiquity and our own was underlined by Heath 2004. Recourse to the notions of ‘etic’ and ‘emic’ (derived from Pike 1954–1960) appears to me to dispel any ambiguity: the former designates, in current anthropology, the point of view of an external observer, who superimposes a pre-ordained conceptual grid upon the society under investigation; ‘emic’, on the other hand, is to be understood as the point of view of a given community/population, in accordance with their conceptual schemes and belief systems.

## 19

There is evidence of this critical slant even in the most ancient theorists, and it is beyond doubt that they are to be regarded as providing a formal set of criteria (the same as identified by Davies 1988, 63–64 [*Appendix 2*], in the attempt to overcome the inadequacy of the modern taxonomy of monodic and choral lyric poetry).

## 20

Their classification must primarily have been made necessary in cataloguing the Museum of Alexandria: beyond the theoretical enterprise, there was the simple need to order the texts physically and concretely.

## 21

See Rossi 1971; for a discussion of an emblematic instance in which a mixed taxonomy was adopted, namely Callimachus, see Depew 1992, esp. 315 and note 8, and 321 f.; see also Dougherty 1994, 44-46; the section on 'genre' in Harrison 2001 does not bear on the present discussion. The inadequacy of formal criteria to describe the textual production of ancient Greece had been maintained by Hack 1916, who illustrated the limitations of a theory of genre framed as 'literary form'; better grounded is the critique of 'genre' as criterion in de Vries 1983, 252-254 (see also Dougherty 1994, 43 and note 44). On the Latin front, the limitations of genre definitions based on form were illustrated by Benediktson 1977, esp. 346-348 (and see also the contents-driven attempt to reorder the set of texts by, e.g., Cairns 1972). The notion that 'literary genres' be formally defined has severe limitations: suffice it to cite the so-called 'wisdom literature' of the Near East, a modern contents-based label covering a disparate number of forms (see Ercolani and Xella 2013, 13-15). Nor is the concept of 'genre' itself a universal principle of taxonomy: let us think, for instance, of Vedic culture and the doctrine of the *rasa*, whereby texts are classified on the grounds of the emotional effect they are intended to provoke, independently of either form or contents (see Colm Hogan 2003, 45-75, esp. 46-48, and bibliography). See also Rodighiero 2012, 7-8 for further discussion. One may even facetiously endorse the identification of a given domain of writing as 'genre': that of footnotes, as V. Nabokov appears to suggest (on which see Warner 1986), and also (far less facetiously, I would say) of 'title as genre' (Levin 1977).

## 22

See also Bosman 2003.

## 23

In this regard we may more fully appreciate the merits of the definition proposed by Depew-Obbink (and see the antecedent formulation of an 'occasion-oriented concept of literary genre' proposed by Dougherty 1994 [notably, 44]). On the importance of occasions in the classification of the text typologies of ancient Greek culture, seminal works (albeit mainly oriented on lyric texts) are those of Harvey 1955, Rossi 1971, Calame 1974 (to which I refer the reader for a bibliography on the topic of 'genres' and their definition by structuralist critics), and Gentili 2006 (1984<sup>1</sup>): these works are to be credited with highlighting the crucial role of occasions in

defining the cultural system of archaic and classical Greece. On the importance of the occasion-performance nexus, see also Depew 1992 and Dougherty 1994, who rightly focused on occasion (and performance) as defining criteria and was able to show that what might have appeared (and has occasionally been taken to be) a 'genre', namely *ktiseis*, never constituted a genre – not in the domain of poetry, at any rate. Considerations on classification by genre are to be found in *Théorie* 1986.

## 24

For obvious reasons, we are only able to base our reasoning on the texts which have come down to us, directly or indirectly, because they were, at some point, entrusted to a durable medium of conservation by way of writing. We are thus implicitly bound to a point of view that distorts our appreciation of several phenomena of the cultural systems of antiquity. On the dynamics that bear on the production, circulation, and transmission of texts in oral cultures, signal works are those of Finnegan 1977 and 1988, Goody 1986 and 1987, Ong 1982. A key text for the assessment of the contrasts and progressive interference of orality with writing is, in my opinion, McLuhan 1962. With specific regard to ancient Greek culture, see the works of E. A. Havelock (particularly Havelock 1963). Naturally, an oral text may also assume a fixed form, and be stabilised in a form that tends to remain stable (see, for instance, the discussion in Nagy 2004, ch. 2, of the epic text of Homer); in some instances, an oral text may prove to be less alterable than a written text (see, *infra*, n. 24). I insist on the oral/aural dimension in order to underline the strict connection between text, performance, and occasion.

## 25

Some necessary provisos are made below in the discussion. See also Giordano 2003.

## 26

See Ong's notion of 'homeostasis' (Ong 1982).

## 27

The demarcation between the public and private sphere, in an oral culture, tends to be rather blurred, and wholly non-existent in very small communities. Likewise, the opposition between 'high-brow' culture (= texts promoted to the

ambiguous rank of 'literary dignity') and 'popular' culture (= expression of the unsophisticated) does not hold – not in these terms, at any rate. The issue has been long debated: see for a recent analysis Parker 2011. For a discussion of the subject with reference to a comprehensive range of ancient Greek texts, see Palmisciano 2003.

## 28

A valid terminological alternative to 'literature' seems to me the definition of 'verbal art', on which see, for instance, Kiparsky 1987, 195–196; see also the remarks in Colm Hogan 2003, 22.

## 29

See the discussion by Nicolai.

## 30

For illustrations of this line of investigation and its outcomes, see, in this volume, Sonnino in particular.

## 31

Finkelberg 2007 has shown, by means of a comparative analysis of several traditions, and notably the Jewish and Zoroastrian, that 'in each case under consideration it was taken for granted that oral transmission is by its very nature restrictive and therefore more suitable for allowing the elites to exercise control both over dispersal of information and over the concrete form taken by it' (*Eadem*, 302). In other words: as against the uncontrollable mass-circulation of texts favoured by written copies, with the attendant effect of an alteration (voluntary or accidental) of their contents, more rigid forms of control can be exerted over oral texts, which prevent them from being altered, at least within the context of fruition within which the texts are composed.

## 32

In this connection, we might take into account the phenomenon of oral narrative forms in domestic settings, resulting in alternative and/or parallel narratives to those of the great public occasions, and in which the themes and issues were those that featured in epic recitation and tragic performance: see Heath 2011 (for discussions along these lines, though with different objects, see, e.g., Pianta 1987, Venturelli 1987). See also the discussion of the lullaby by Colesanti, in this volume.



### 33

Use of this terminology may well persist as a convention, consolidated by custom, provided that we beware of their scarce compatibility with the cultural phenomena of ancient Greece up to ca. the fourth century BCE.

### 34

In this regard, the *hieroi logoi* provide a potentially interesting object of study, situated as they are at a liminal point between orality and writing, publicity and secrecy, the unspoken and the revealed. Rossi 2000, mentioned them in his list of submerged texts. On this issue, see the recent analysis in Henrichs 2003.

### 35

That submerged texts were *also* lost may be surmised at the outset. The converse, however, does not necessarily hold: that the texts which were lost were the submerged is only true in some instances, as I believe the examination of individual cases will prove.

### 36

On the subject, Havelock 1963 is a crucial text; see also the more recent Ford 2002 (who locates the turning point in the second half of the fifth century BCE).

### 37

The book contributed considerable initial impulse and made autonomous what we would understand as 'literary' criticism proper. Plato (notably in certain sparse remarks in *Phaedrus* and *Republic*) offers the first, embryonic, suggestions of formal criteria for the identification of 'genres', independently of occasions.

### 38

These categories have entered common usage after the influential studies by Walter Ong (1967, 1982). In this paper, for purposes of convenience, I shall often use the term 'oral' in a much wider sense that also includes the aural phase. For orality in archaic Greek culture see, only to mention classic studies, Parry 1971; Lord 1960; Havelock 1963, 1982, 1986. See also various contributions in Gentili and Paioni 1985; Gentili 1983; Gentili 1988 (in part. 3-23). The relationships between oral culture and written texts in Greece have been explored from different points of view by Svenbro 1988; Harris

1989, 1-146; Thomas 1989, Thomas 1992; Ford 2002; Ford 2003.

### 39

I mention only the pioneering studies of Bruno Gentili (Gentili 1965; Gentili 1969; Gentili 1972; Gentili 2006 [1984<sup>1</sup>]), Claude Calame (Calame 1977), John Herington (Herington 1985, in part. 3-40, who introduced the term 'song culture'), Nagy 1990. Among the most recent works, very important and up-to-date reflections can be found in Kowalzig 2007. For an analysis of monodic sympotic poetry as submerged literature, see Giulio Colesanti in this volume.

### 40

For a comprehensive overview of traditional songs in ancient Greece, see Lambin 1992. The de-velopment of literary genres from 'popular' songs is the focus of Adrados 2007 (= Adrados 1976)

### 41

Giulio Colesanti specifically discusses childhood songs in this volume.

### 42

I cannot but agree with Ford 2003, 37: 'its meaning [*scil.* of Greek song] is to be derived not simply from textual and intertextual plays of words but also from a contextual and intercontextual meaning-making process'.

### 43

The idea of 'poetic genre' is of very limited use in studying submerged literature in a historical perspective, as Ercolani demonstrates in this volume (but see also Calame 1974; Davies 1988; Nagy 1994-1995; Calame 1998; and Carey 2009, illustrated the limits this category when applied to ancient Greek poetry). In this paper the term 'genre' will be used purely descriptively.

### 44

De Martino 1975, 249 n.1.

### 45

Rossi 1971. On this topic see also Maehler 1963.

### 46

Palmisciano 2003; Palmisciano 2007a with extensive

bibliography.

#### 47

In a recent monograph Wilson has carefully studied the involvement of the city and its *khoregoi* in choral and dramatic festival organization (Wilson 2000).

#### 48

Kowalzig 2007, 6 f. rightly affirms that it was not customary to engage famous poets. The Greeks continued to produce traditional poetry as more ordinary business throughout antiquity.

#### 49

Cf, for example, Polybius' words (Pol. 4. 20. 8) about the Arkadians who never ceased to train children in choral performances.

#### 50

I have analysed the relations between authorial and anonymous poetic production focusing on poetic dirges (*threnoi*) in a monograph (in print).

#### 51

See Ford 2003, 21: 'a lyric song text of the archaic period was fairly useless to anyone who had not already heard the song'.

#### 52

We can see traces of this separation in the reflections on the forms of poetry developed by Aristotle and his school, although this reflection probably started from the perception of the risk of losing much of the traditional heritage as a consequence of the increasingly vigorous development of other forms of literary communication.

#### 53

The one exception is Aeschylus, revivals of whose works were allowed immediately after his death, see Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 86.

#### 54

For a different view on the significance of reperformances, see Giordano in this volume.

#### 55

The open character of literary canons was acknowledged by

Curtius 1948, 354. The canons of religious texts are of a wholly different nature, being the emanation of a recognised religious authority.

## 56

See Eco 2009, and 49–51 especially.

## 57

Gorak 1997, 561 f.

## 58

Ruhnken adapted a term derived from biblical studies to the lists of favoured authors compiled in antiquity. The Greek term κανών, regarding which see Oppel 1937, indicated the norm, the rule.

## 59

See Jaeger's manifesto for a Third Humanism (1933); Nicolai 2007a. On the concept of 'classic' in its relation to canon-formation see Citroni 2003 and Citroni 2005b.

## 60

On several issues I shall not address here, see Nicolai 1992, 250–339, Nicolai 2006 and Nicolai 2007a.

## 61

On the role of festivals and *agones* in giving rise to a canon, see Cancik 2003, 117–120.

## 62

See Nicolai 2000, and Sbardella 2012.

## 63

On the forms of canonization between the sixth and fourth century BCE, see Nicolai 2006.

## 64

See Cancik 2003, 120–126.

## 65

See Nicolai 2004b.

## 66

See Nicolai 2004a, 172–183 especially.

## 67

On the formation of the *corpus* of Lysias, see Dover 1968.

## 68

On the extent to which authors were able to ensure the integrity of their own work (especially long-lived authors), see Rossi 2000.

## 69

See, on this subject, the essay by Stramaglia forthcoming.

## 70

See Heldmann 1982.

## 71

Wilamowitz 1900, 4-11 and 63-71.

## 72

See Nicolai 2007b.

## 73

See Vardi 2003, 148, who notes that Quintilian's canon of Latin authors is not restricted to past masterpieces, and includes recent works too. This decision, however, followed naturally from the fact that in Quintilian's time certain recent authors, from the age of Augustus onwards, had already become classics.

## 74

See Bloom 1994; see also Antonelli 2000.

## 75

See Nicolai 1992, 178-233.

## 76

See, for instance, the lists in Byzantine manuscripts published by Kroenert 1897.

## 77

Hellanicus of Lesbos may be an exception. For a discussion, see Nicolai 1992, 308 f. and 324 f.

## 78

On the canon of Quintilian see Vardi 2003 (on the ideology of a competition with ancient Greek culture see 146-148), Citroni 2004, Citroni 2005a, and Citroni 2006.

**79**

See Finkelberg 2003.

**80**

On this issue, see Nicolai forthcoming. On the lack of a designation for 'literature' in the Greek language see Morgan 1998, 90 f.; the argument is taken up in Easterling 2002, 21. On the complex relation between literature, orality, and writing, see Dupont 1998.

**81**

On the percentage of lost works in the domain of historiography, see Strasburger 1977.

**82**

On the fundamental importance of performance and occasion in the early history and definition of genres see R. Nicolai's contribution in this volume.

**83**

The contents of this table deserve a few remarks. First of all, we have to remember that comedy was studied well before Eratosthenes; already in the early Hellenistic age, e.g., Lycophron and Euphronius had both written on ancient comedy (Pfeiffer 1968, 119 f. = Pfeiffer 1973, 201 f., and 160 f. = 259 ff.; the fragments were edited by C. Strecker in 1884); on the studies on comedy by the school of Aristotle and by third-century Alexandrian scholars see the recent, detailed analysis in Lowe 2013. With regard to philosophy as *genre*, the Alexandrians studied Plato's dialogues as literary texts, and do not appear to have had an interest in their philosophical contents (see Schironi 2005; I would like to thank Maria Grazia Bonanno for drawing my attention to this important fact). Finally, there is the special case of the commentary on a hexametric Orphic poem found in the Derveni papyrus (cf Kouremenos, Parássoglou and Tsantsanoglou 2006).

**84**

On ancient editions of the epics, see Pagani and Perrone 2012, 97–124.

**85**

See also a fragment of the grammarian Hellanicus, an elder contemporary of Aristarchus, who discusses word-division,

and consequently accentuation, in a passage in Herodotus' *Histories*: we cannot ascertain whether this fragment contains the discussion of a single passage or formed part of an extensive commentary (see Hellanicus fr. 5 Montanari = sch. ad Soph. *Philoct.* 201, discussing Herodot. 2. 171. 2, with Montanari's notes).

## 86

See Pfeiffer 1968, 225 = Pfeiffer 1973, 349 f.

## 87

PBerol inv. 9780, published by H. Diels and W. Schubart (*Didymos Kommentar zu Demosthenes*, Berliner Klassikertexte Heft I, Berlin 1904); see Pfeiffer 1968, 278 = Pfeiffer 1973, 419 f. A new edition of the papyrus, with translation and notes, was published by P. Harding in 2006 (see especially pp. 31 f. on Didymus' predecessors). On ancient scholarly works on Demosthenes, see Gibson 2002 (26–35 discuss scholarship on Demosthenes before Didymus).

## 88

See Pfeiffer 1968, 203–208 = Pfeiffer 1973, 323–326: the term ἐγκριθέντες is attested only for the orators, but it can be applied to poets as well (p. 323 and n. 233). The very existence of lists of selected authors has been questioned; moreover, this topic is linked to the problem of imitation, as the selected authors are offered as models of style: see Nicolai 1992, 251–265, with a review of recent literature on the problem, and his contribution in this volume.

## 89

Cf Xenophanes fr. 21 B 11 and 12 Diels-Kranz; Theagenes fr. 8 A 1 and 2 Diels-Kranz. On Theagenes see Ford 2002, 68–76; Struck 2004, 27–29.

## 90

Plat., *Ion* 531 a: πότερον περὶ Ὀμήρου μόνον δεινὸς εἶ ἢ καὶ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου; – On this passage in relation to the formation of canons see De Martino and Vox 1996, vol. I, 62.

## 91

Aristophanes in *Frogs*, however, does not seem to imply that this superiority of our three tragedians was generally taken for granted: see ll. 68 ff., where Dionysus says to Heracles

that he wants to bring Euripides back from the Underworld, and Heracles mentions a number of contemporary authors of dramas, who are still alive; so Wehrli in the commentary to his edition of the fragments of Heraclides Ponticus, p. 123, on fr. 179.

## 92

See the overview of available evidence in Todisco 2003 (tables 5, 6, 7, 13), comprising West Greek and Attic vases found in Italy and Sicily. On the problems related to drama, its exportation across the Hellenized world, and its representations on vase-paintings see Taplin 1993 and Taplin 2007; on the process of canonization of the three major tragedians, which evidently made subjects from their plays more easily recognizable, see Csapo 2010, 38 f. and 67.

## 93

Life of Aeschylus, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, III (Aeschylus), T A1, p. 35 Radt, ll. 48 f.; see the detailed discussion in Totaro 2006, 105–107.

## 94

Since all quotations from Homer in Plato's dialogues derive from the two major poems, we can assume that he held a similar position: see Labarbe 1949.

## 95

*Poet.* 1459 b 16: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ πάντα ὑπερβέβληκεν. See Pfeiffer 1968, 73 with n. 3 and 74 = Pfeiffer 1973, 139 f. and n. 89: πάντα is the correct reading, with reference to the other epic poems (ποιήματα); the variant πάντας would refer instead to all the other poets. A notable exception is the *Margites*, regarded in the *Poetics* to be a work of Homer (1448 b 30 and b 38 ff.; see Pfeiffer 1968, 74 = Pfeiffer 1973, 140 f.).

## 96

See the *Index locorum* in Kassel's OCT edition of the *Poetics* (Oxford 1965), 78 f.

## 97

See Giordano in this volume.

## 98

Ἀπορήματα Ἡσιόδου and Ἀπορήματα Ἀρχιλόχου Εὐριπίδου



Χοιρίλου ἐν βιβλίοις γ', in Pfeiffer 1968, 145 = Pfeiffer 1973, 237: the titles only are preserved in the lists of Aristotle's works, see Moraux 1951, 252 and 272-275.

## 99

Cf Diogenes Laertius (5. 87): Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας (fr. 176-177 W.); Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὀμήρου (fr. 178 W.); Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγωδοποιῶν (fr. 179 W.); Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑυριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ (fr. 180), on the contents of the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. On the literary interests of the pupils of Aristotle, see the helpful collection of material in Podlecki 1969 and Martano and Matelli and Mirhady 2012 (in particular the contributions by F. Montanari on the *Peripatos* and literature and by D. Mirhady on Chamaeleon on the origins of tragedy). On Aristotle and his school's work on comedy see N. Lowe's detailed discussion: in particular, the first monographs on individual comedians were the work *On Menander* by Lynceus of Samos, an associate of Theophrastus, and the treatise *On Antiphanes* by Demetrius of Phalerum (Lowe 2013, 346-347).

## 100

See Pfeiffer 1968, 193 = Pfeiffer 1973, 304 f., and 181 f. = 289.

## 101

On Praxiphanes, see Podlecki 1969, 124 f.; E. Matelli's new commented edition of all his fragments (Matelli 2012) and Martano and Matelli and Mirhady 2012.

## 102

On Aristotle and Alexandrian scholarship see Rossi 1976 (a review of Pfeiffer's 1968 book), Montanari 1993, 262-264, and the detailed discussion in Richardson 1994; on the use of Aristotelian principles in the work of Aristarchus, see Schironi 2009b.

## 103

See the contributions of Palmisciano 'Oral Poetry', Ercolani and Lulli in this volume, which touch on different aspects of this issue.

## 104

I have collected the relevant testimonies from Pfeiffer 1968; Bagordo 1998; McNamee 2007 and the CEDOPAL online

database. On the single grammarians I have used the editions and studies that follow. Eratosthenes: Geus 2002; Aristophanes of Byzantium: Slater 1986; Aristarchus on Herodotus: PAmh II. 12; on Plato: Schironi 2005; on Euripides: sch. ad Eur. Rh. 540; on Ion of Chius: Athen. 14. 634 c-d; on Thucydides: Didymus' work implies earlier commentaries (Pfeiffer 1968, 225 = Pfeiffer 1973, 349 f.); Crates: Broggiato 2001; Apollodorus of Athens on Epicharmus and Sophron: *FGrHist* 244 T 18 and F 213-218; Didymus on Alcaeus: POxy 1788; on Anacreon: POxy 3722; on Ion of Chius: Athen. 11. 468 d; Athen. 14. 634 e; on Phrynichus: Athen. 9. 371 f; on Herodotus: POxy 4455; on Isocrates and Dinarchus: Schmidt 1854, 320; on Antiphon: Schmidt 1854, 310; on Didymus' work on Demosthenes see above, § 1.

## 105

See for example Acosta-Hughes 2011, 218.

## 106

See Wilamowitz 1900, 57 ff. This could be an indication that elegy did not exist as a genre in itself, and should rather be considered as a group of authors, each of them linked to a single social occasion of performance: see Palmisciano in this volume, 'Dramatic Actions'.

## 107

See Obbink 2006, 1 f. (on Archilochus' new elegy); Lulli 2011 (87-89) has a survey of recent bibliography on Archilochus' fragment.

## 108

See Wilamowitz 1900, 61. The same happened to Aeschylus' elegies, if he did write any: the two fragments we possess could actually be verse inscriptions (see Aesch. fr. 1 and 2 West<sup>2</sup>).

## 109

Didymus, ὑπόμνημα Βακχυλίδου ἐπινίκων, p. 300 f. Schmidt = Bacchyl. test. 10 Snell-Maehler.

## 110

Athen. 14. 634 c-d: Ἴων δ' ὁ Χῖος ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ ... ὅπερ ἐξηγούμενος Ἰαμβεῖον Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ γραμματικὸς ... γένος αὐλοῦ φησιν εἶναι τὴν μάγαδιν. – Ion had been the subject of an earlier work by Baton of Sinope, a historian of the end of

the third century BCE: Βάτων δ' ὁ Σινωπεὺς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἴωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, quoted in Athen. 10. 436 f = *FGrHist* 268 F 6, also in *BNJ*; on this passage see also *BNJ* 392 T 8 (Ion of Chius). On Ion's biographers and interpreters see the useful collection of *testimonia* in Leurini 1992, 12–16 (T 20–32).

### 111

See Pfeiffer 1968, 264 f. = Pfeiffer 1973, 400–403.

### 112

See Pfeiffer 1968, 249 = Pfeiffer 1973, 381, and Polemon fr. 39–46 Preller.

### 113

Athen. 14. 634 e: Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν ταῖς εἰς Ἴωνα Ἀντεξηγήσεσιν (Did. pp. 302–305 Schmidt, who however proposes to read πρὸς Ἰώβαν instead of εἰς Ἴωνα). On this reading see Jacoby's notes on *FGrHist* 275 T 13 (Juba von Mauretanien).

### 114

See Pfeiffer 1968, 208 f. = Pfeiffer 1973, 326. Eratosthenes before him had apparently discussed a proverb, in connection with his studies on ancient comedy (Pfeiffer 1968, 159 f. n. 8 = Pfeiffer 1973, 259 n. 55). On the study of proverbs in the Hellenistic age see in particular Tosi 1994.

### 115

The work on the proverbs is mentioned by Helladius, quoted in Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 279 p. 530 a Bekker.

### 116

The best introduction to these collections is still, to my knowledge, the detailed survey prepared by E. Degani (1995); see also Tosi 1994 and Dickey 2007, 87–103.

### 117

For a full list of the authors quoted, see Schironi 2009a, 9–12.

### 118

See Momigliano 1982 (=1975), 9. On the canon of Greek historians, see Nicolai 1992, chapter 3 (*Il canone degli storici greci*).

### 119

The text on the verso of the papyrus was first published by F.

Lasserre in 1975; it was later included in Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* (frr. 983–984, pp. 497–500). Further bibliography in Montanari 1995, 50 n. 8.

## 120

On this issue, however, see also Rengakos 2000, who underlines how only from the first century BCE onwards Hellenistic poets became a direct object of study. Aristarchus, on the contrary, neither read nor studied contemporary poets *per se*, but for their usefulness in explaining the epics. On the work of Hellenistic grammarians on contemporary poets see also Pagani 2007, 27–31, in particular 28 and note 67.

## 121

The name of Crates, who was a contemporary of Aristarchus, appears a number of times in the extant exegetical material on Aratus' *Phaenomena* (see Crat. F 50, F 65, F 131, F 133 Broggiato; also possibly F 132); it was originally thought that Crates had written a commentary on the *Phaenomena*, until E. Maass in 1892 persuasively argued that Crates in fact only discussed Aratus in the context of his work on the Homeric poems (see Maass 1892, 167 ff.).

## 122

The interpretive problem lies in the fact that a mount Dicte indeed exists in Crete, but is far from mount Ida: Zenodotus, therefore, advanced the interpretation that the word δίκτον be read as the name of a plant, also known as δίκταμνον, and argued that for this reason Aratus appropriately wrote it was 'sweet-smelling': on this discussion see Broggiato 2005, 148 f.

## 123

See Broggiato 2005, 135. I would like to thank Francesca Schironi for her precious advice on some of the problems discussed in this paper.

## 124

For a discussion of the *status quaestionis* on the genesis of the Epic Cycle (and bibliography), and for the full development of the argument I have here outlined in its most essential terms, I refer the reader to Sbardella 2012, Part One, 5–63 and Part Three, 139–244. To the extensive bibliography on the subject should be added West 2013, whose views on the genesis of the Trojan epic cycle are at substantial variance with mine: West maintains the elaboration of the epic poems

on the Trojan myth into a cycle was the late effort of scholars, outside the rhapsodic tradition, occurring no sooner than the fourth century BCE (see *Prolegomena*, 16–26 especially).

## 125

The discussion in the work to which I have referred the reader was not conducted by explicit reference to a rhapsodic canon of the Homeridae, although, conceptually, the term ‘canon’ would not have been out of place: reference to the canon was hence suggested by Roberto Nicolai, who rightly frames the events regarding the Trojan cycle in the rhapsodic tradition as one of the oldest instances of canonization in ancient Greek literature.

## 126

For a detailed discussion, see Sbardella 2012, particularly the introductory discussion in Part One, 5–63. West 2013 (*Prolegomena*, 39–40 especially) argues in favour of the view that the fate of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was determined independently of the other poems in the Trojan epic cycle: he accounts for the fact that they too were ascribed to Homer in the late archaic age by reference to the ‘deviant’ practices of a number of rhapsodes, whereas others continued in the orthodox tradition of only regarding the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as Homeric.

## 127

This does not imply that the Trojan epic cycle became crystallized; indeed, the text of the poems continued to circulate in a fluid state, allowing for a number of variants, even after the rhapsodic canon was formed and the text was first set in writing (see Finkelberg 2000): what occurred, rather, was a standardization in the general lines of its narrative development.

## 128

Besides Burkert 1972, see also Pòrtulas 2000 and 2008, 410–421, Graziosi 2002, 202–206, and Cassio 2003.

## 129

The complete collection of *testimonia* regarding Creophylus is in Bernabé 1987, 157–161; for an overall discussion of the *testimonia* see Graziosi 2002, 189–192 and Pòrtulas 2008, 410–421.

### 130

On the problems attending the collective designation *Homeridae* and its relation to *Homeros* see Durante 1976, 186–203, West 1999, 374–376, Ferrari 2007, 3–17.

### 131

See, in particular, Graziosi 2002, 217–220 and Pòrtulas 2008, 416–421.

### 132

Burkert 1972, 78 notes, in this regard, that the complex of traditions that attributed the ordering of the state of Sparta to Lycurgus appears to have been developed during the fourth century BCE.

### 133

Cf test. 19 G.–P.

### 134

Cf test. 4–12 Calame.

### 135

The privileged channel of relations between Sparta and the Ionian world in the early archaic age, and with Samos especially, is well documented in the figurative arts (see Torelli 1978, 689) and by trade exchanges, notably of ceramic artefacts (see Nafissi 1991, 255–273); on the level of more exquisitely political relations, reference to an entente between Sparta and Samos at the time of the Messenic wars is to be found in Herodotus (3. 47).

### 136

Analogous conclusions are drawn by Calame 1983, 487 and 496, who follows Davison 1968, 84–85, in the commentary to both fragments by Alcman.

### 137

Cf the complex of *testimonia* in Bernabé 1987, 157–161, amongst which stands out as especially ambiguous Callimachus' epigram 6 Pf. = 55 G.-P. on the *Capture of Oechalia* and its attribution (see, besides Burkert 1972, the recent Graziosi 2002, 189–192 and Pretagostini 2007, 9–10).

### 138

Of these doubtful fragments, particularly useful in clarifying the mythical link between the episode of war against Pylos

and that of capture of Oechalia is no. 6 Bernabé (Eust. *in Il.* 879. 12 and schol. *ad Il.* 11. 690a): having yet to expiate the impious killing of his guest Iphitus, son of Eurytus, king of Oechalia, Heracles was denied hospitality by Neleus, king of Pylos, whereupon he attacked and destroyed the city, and slaughtered Neleus' sons, Nestor excepted.

### 139

On the putative relations between Pythagoras and the epicorhapsodic tradition as represented by the Homeridae and Creophylei, see Detienne 1962, 13–22 especially, and Pòrtulas 2008, 416–421.

### 140

See Sisti 1966, Barron 1969, 136–137, Woodbury 1985 and, more recently, the remarkable chronographic reappraisal of the problem in Ornaghi 2008; but see also Giannini 2004 for a plausible contextualization of Ibycus' sojourn at Samos based on historical and cultural elements.

### 141

For the text cf *SLG* 151 Page (an update of *PMG* 282, largely indebted to the work of textual criticism by Barron 1969, 120 ff.), from which Davies' text (*PMGF* S151) diverges on only minor points.

### 142

Extensive development of this argument in Sbardella 2012, to which I also refer the reader for a full analysis of Ibycus' ode in the terms I here present in outline (223–244).

### 143

Barron 1969, 123 made a basic contribution to this reading of the text, supplying the correct reading of the scholium to v. 37 with the name of Kyanippus and for the complex of sources from which reference to Zeuxippus may be inferred, 130–131 *ad v.* 36 ff.; but see also Cingano 1989.

### 144

Cingano 1989, 31 is particularly assertive on this point, maintaining that 'il distacco di Ibyco dalla tradizione omerica [about Kyanippus and Zeuxippus] è senza dubbio deliberato'.

### 145

See, again, Cingano 1989, 34–36.

### 146

Only under Polycrates, in the years 533 to 522 BCE, did the long-standing affiliation of Samos with the Peloponnese suffer a serious setback, as the tyrant established new political allegiances (with Athens, for instance); this was mostly due to a conflict between Polycrates and a section of the Samian aristocracy, which motivated the armed intervention of Sparta and Corinth to oppose him (cf Hdt 3. 44–49). We have no record, on the other hand, of Argos' involvement in the conflict: it is indeed far more likely that the refurbishment of the Heraion at the tyrant's order should have reflected an interest to reassert the Samian cult of Hera on a Panhellenic scale, seconded by the political and religious authorities of Argos. On this reading, we may legitimately suppose the relations between Samos and Argos to have remained constant throughout the archaic age.

### 147

On the interpretation of Κρεοφύλαιοι not as a patronymic, but as the designation of a professional guild see Burkert 1972, 78.

### 148

Cf *LIMC* s.v. 'Achilleus' 558, 'Aias I' 22, 'Dolon' 1.

### 149

Snodgrass 1998, 120–121 and fig. 47.

### 150

As of the second half of the seventh century BCE, we should note, Peloponnesian artists were also flaunting their well-established familiarity with the mythic themes in the Homeric epics known to us, which they could represent extensively and rather faithfully (see Friis Johansen 1967, 84).

### 151

On the origin of biographic traditions regarding Homer in the rhapsodic circuits of the late archaic age, and especially among the Homeridae of Chios, see Pfeiffer 1968, 11–12, Cerri 2000, 41–42, West 2003b, 311, and, most recently, Sbardella 2012, 85–99.

### 152

See Sbardella 2012, 97–99 (the relevant *testimonia* are in Bernabé 1987, 157–161).



### 153

On the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and its performance at Delos by Kynaithus, the leader of the Homeridae, in 523 or 522 BCE on a commission received by Polycrates, see the pioneering insights of Burkert 1979 and Janko 1982, 112–114, then Aloni 1989 and now Sbardella 2012, Introduction, 29–38, and Part two, 67 ff.

### 154

On this hypothesis, and for the extensive bibliography on the issue, to which the monograph by Skaftø Jensen 2011 should be added, see Sbardella 2012, Part three, 139 ff.

### 155

The second *Nemean* ode, in which Pindar addresses an Attic patron (Timodemus of Acharnae), mentioning the Homeridae and their rhapsodic performances, can be dated to 485 BCE, when the democratic government of Athens was fully consolidated.

### 156

The surviving fragments of Asius (see Bernabé 1987, 127–130) all attest to prevailingly mythico-genealogic interests, although no title for his works has been transmitted; Choerilus, in fr. 1 and 2 Bernabé of his poem on the Persian wars, openly declared the intent to turn away from the traditional mythic themes of the epic, now firmly in the hands of an established tradition of rhapsodes, and seek his subject matter in a λόγος ἄλλος.

### 157

Unless otherwise specified, all translations are by the author.

### 158

See Sbardella 2012, and his contribution in this volume.

### 159

The issue of when and in what manner the epic cycles were constituted (the Trojan and Theban cycles, especially), and the dating of individual poems in the cycles is still debated among scholars. See, particularly, the hypothesis of Nagy 2004, 30–39 (with previous bibliography), on the canonization process only for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and not for the cyclic poems, with a crucial starting point in the Panathenaic

festivals. A useful analysis of the *status quaestionis*, with a distinction between the canonization process of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the cyclic poems is also given in Finkelberg 2000, who underlines that the codification of the Homeric poems in the recitations at the Panathenaea also granted them their uniformity. With regard to the Trojan cycle, Cingano 2011, 22, correctly frames the problem as owing in particular to the fragmentary state of the evidence. The problem remains undoubtedly complex, although Sbardella 2012 has provided a convincing argument and ample bibliography for the central role played by the Homeridae in the constitution of the Trojan cycle at Athens during the reign of Pisistratus and of the Pisistratids.

## 160

In introducing the concept of ‘submersion’ into the domain of Greek literature, Luigi Enrico Rossi focussed on two crucial elements: author and poem. On these grounds, Rossi 2000, 171–172, proposed a list of the literary genres that could be investigated in the light of the concept of ‘submersion’, and decided against inclusion of the early archaic epic poetry, where it is possible to say that the individual author was non-existent. In so far as author and work define the frame of reference, the earliest phase of the archaic epic falls without this field of inquiry. Equally, I have here attempted an investigation of the archaic and classical epic in terms of ‘submersion’, in so far as these epics developed within an oral/aural system of communication, which was already a blend of orality and writing. These conditions are among the factors that determined the gradual emergence of authorial figures in a period in which the link between text and author was gradually becoming more consolidated: hence, my reasons for extending the concept of ‘submersion’ to the analysis of the epic.

## 161

Cf Pisand. test. 1 Bernabé (= *Suda* s.v. Πείσανδρος, IV 122. 11 Adler) ποιήματα δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἡράκλεια ἐν βιβλίοις β´· ἔστι δὲ τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα· ἔνθα πρῶτος Ἡρακλεῖ ρόπαλον περιτέθεικε. It is worth underlining that according to this source Pisander was the first to represent Heracles with a club, whereas according to Athenaeus, Stesichorus was the first to represent Heracles with club, lion-skin, and bow (*PMGF* fr. 229). See Huxley 1969, 102. For indications of an ordering of the labours of Heracles in the books of the *Herakleia* cf Pisand. fr. 1. II

Bernabé = [Eratosth.] *Catast.* 12 (96. 5 Rob.); fr. 5 Bernabé = Athen. 11. 469 c.

## 162

The epigram by Theocritus provides noteworthy evidence in this regard (Pisand. test. 2 Bernabé = Theocr. *epigr.* 16 Gow-Page = *Anth. Pal.* 9. 598). On the canonization of the labours of Heracles by Pisander, see Angeli Bernardini 2010, 394, and Angeli Bernardini 2011, 169-170.

## 163

Cf Pisand. test. 7-12 Bernabé. On the canon of epic poets see below.

## 164

The problems attending the definition 'epic cycle' are reviewed in Scafoglio 2004, who proposes the phrase 'cyclic question', modelled on the established phrase 'Homeric question'. The chronology of cyclic poems and the identity of some of the authorial figures that are occasionally named in relation to certain poems remain open issues (see Davies 1989, 1-10). West has recently proposed a reconstruction of the phases in which the Trojan cycle was formed, with detailed timing for each phase (see West 2013, 16-26). West, however, regards the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to have developed independently of his proposed scheme, and thus outside the constitution of the cycle.

## 165

The earliest attestations of the phrase 'epic cycle' are to be found in Aristotle (*Anal. Post.* 77 b 32 = *Cyclus Epicus* test. 1 Bernabé; *Soph. Elench.* 10 171 a 7 = *Cyclus Epicus* test. 8 Bernabé). The meaning of the term κύκλος as it appears in Aristotle may be derived from the commentary to the passage (cf Ioann. Philopon. *in* Aristot. *Anal. Post.* 77 b 32 = 156. 12 Wallies. Aristotle's conception of the epic cycle, besides, is illustrated in *Poetics* (1459 a 37 = *Cypria* test. 5 Bernabé = *Ilias Parva* test. 7 Bernabé), where the characteristics of poems belonging to it are compared with those of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. That the mythical subject matter treated in poems which ever since Aristotle (at the least) had been regarded as belonging to the cycle had been exploited by fifth-century BCE tragedians at Athens, and by Sophocles in particular, emerges from a widely known passage in Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 7. 277e = *Cyclus Epicus* test. 18 Bernabé).

For an overview of the usage of the term κύκλος from Aristotle onwards, see West 2013, 1–4 (and related bibliography).

## 166

On the complex relations between the epic and folklore and the reasons for regarding the epic as the official and codified genre *par excellence*, while at the same time supposing that it was related to a popular tradition of lore, see Palmisciano 2003, 163–164.

## 167

On the importance of the Homeridae's recitation in the constitution of the Trojan epic cycle, see Sbardella 2012.

## 168

See Severyns 1928, 164, 165–209. A summary list of these poems is provided in the first column of the table supplied at the end of this study.

## 169

On the difficulties attending these poems and the reasons for classing them under the definition 'geste mythique', see Severyns 1928, 164.

## 170

The poem entitled *Titanomachy*, which, in the *Chrestomatia*, Proclus placed at the beginning of the cycle sequence (cf *Cyclus Epicus* test. 13 Bernabé = Phot. *Bibl.* 319a 21 = V 157 Henry = Procl. *Chrest.* 17 = I 2. 35 Severyns), has been putatively attributed to Eumelus of Corinth, as well as to Arctinus (cf *Titanomachia* test. 2 Bernabé = Athen. 7. 277d; fr. 8 Bernabé = Athen. 1. 22c). Although we should treat questions of attribution with caution, there are elements in favour of a link between the *Titanomachy* and the Corinthian milieu: we cannot rule out, therefore, that the poem is by Eumelus. A detailed description of Corinthian elements in the *Titanomachy* is to be found in Debiasi 2004, 71–107. West also favours the attribution to Eumelus (cf West 2003a, 27).

## 171

The poem must have been of 6,500 lines, as reported in the so-called *Tabula Borgia* or *Borgiana* (IG 14. 1292. 2. 10 = *Danaïs* test. 121 Bernabé), which supplies a list of epic poems detailing title, author, and length of the poem; the author's

name for this poem is lost, however, and cannot be recovered from other sources. For commentary on this *Tabula Iliaca*, see Sadurska 1964, 58–61 and McLeod 1985, 161–163. For an overall analysis of *Tabulae Iliacae*, with special regard to their importance for the view of the Homeric poetry they transmit, see Squire 2011. The title and the little information we have suggest the poem narrated the mythical feats of the daughters of Danaos in Egypt. On this particular composition, see Severyns 1928, 177–178. An overview of the myth of the Danaïds in epic and lyric poetry is to be found in Angeli Bernardini 2007.

## 172

On this poem, generally ascribed to the Hesiodic *corpus*, see Severyns 1928, 178–182 and Debiasi 2004, 236.

## 173

The poem is named after the native population of Orchomenus in Boeotia. All the information we have regarding the mythical subject matter of the poem is of indirect tradition and mainly derived from Pausanias, who says the poem narrated the descent into Hades of Theseus and Pirithous. There is a debated issue surrounding a group of hexameter lines in a papyrus from the first century BCE in the Ibscher collection (published by Merkelbach 1950 and 1952). The lines contain a dialogue between Meleagrus and Theseus in the underworld, and have been attributed to both this poem and Hesiod. See West 2003a, 34–35.

## 174

The attention of Alexandrian scholars was not solely devoted to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Trojan and Theban cycles were also studied, although the intent was usually to document the superiority of Homer and of his epic production, regarded as the paragon of literary and cultural standards. This approach to the epic in Alexandrian scholarship has been studied by Severyns 1928 and 1938–1963. It is worth recording, furthermore, that some kind of erudite study, specifically devoted to the epic cycle, must also have been carried out by scholars outside the circle of Aristarchus, whose work is more widely known and better documented. We may suppose one Dionysius said ‘the Cyclographer’ produced work of this nature (*FGrHist* 15): it is tantalizing to know that Dionysius should have been known by the appellation ‘Cyclographer’, although information regarding his

work remains elusive. On the figure of Dionysius, possibly to be identified with one of the Telchines against whom Callimachus launched his attack in the prologue to *Aitia*, see Lehnus 1993.

### 175

The problematic status of this poem, which appears not to belong with any epic cycle, was signalled by Burkert 1972, 74. Burkert, at any rate, shows how discussion of this type of epic production has bearings even on the better known and more widely debated 'Homeric question'. It might be useful to recall that a narrative featuring Heracles and the fall of Oechalia also survives in a papyrus fragment containing choral lyrics doubtfully attributed to either Pindar or Bacchylides, POxy 35. 2736, re-edited by Lavecchia and Martinelli 1999.

### 176

Cf *Il.* 2. 596; 2. 730; *Od.* 8. 224. Cf also [Hesiod.] fr. 26. 28–33 M.-W.

### 177

Cf Creophylus test. 3 Bernabé (= Plat. *Resp.* 10 600b) ὁ γὰρ Κρεώφυλος, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἴσως, ὁ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐταῖρος, τοῦ ὀνόματος ἂν γελοιότερος ἔτι πρὸς παιδείαν φανείη, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ Ὀμήρου ἀληθῆ. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς πολλή τις ἀμέλεια περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν ἐπ' (Adam: ὑπ' codd.) αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ὅτε ἔζη. For an extensive and detailed discussion of ancient sources other than Plato on the Creophylus-Homer relation, and on the interpretation to be given to this phenomenon, see Cassio 2003, 39–40; see also Burkert 1972, 75–77, and Graziosi 2002, 189–193.

### 178

On the purpose of the attribution of a wide range of archaic and late-archaic poems to Homer, see Cerri 2000.

### 179

See Severyns 1928, 188–191. A passage in Strabo (10. 448; cf also 8. 350) provides valuable information on the subject. There are several places named Oechalia associated with Heracles: a village in Euboea nearby Eretria; a locality nearby Heraclea Trachinia in Thessaly; a site nearby Tricca in Thessaly, one in Arcadia, one in northern Aetolia. For a discussion of the reasons for the attribution of diverse locations to Oechalia see Musti and Torelli 1991, 207–208.

### 180

Cf *Il.* 2. 596, 730. For a discussion of the location of Oechalia in the *Catalogue of Ships* see Allen 1921, 122.

### 181

On the rhapsodic guild of the Creophylei see Burkert 1972, 77-80 and Cassio 2003, 40-44.

### 182

On the alleged contacts with Pythagoras cf Creophylus test. 16 Bernabé = Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 1; Creophylus test. 17 Bernabé = Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 15; Creophylus test. 18 Bernabé = Iamblic. *Vit. Pyth.* 2. 9; Creophylus test. 19 Bernabé = Iamblic. *Vit. Pyth.* 2. 11; Creophylus test. 20 Bernabé = Diog. Laert. 8. 2; Creophylus test. 21 Bernabé = Apul. Flor. 15. 16. Regarding Lycurgus cf Creophylus test. 14 Bernabé = Arist. fr. 611. 10 Rose = Heraclid. Lemb. 10 (16. 19 Dilts). See also Burkert 1972, 77-79 and Cassio 2003.

### 183

A summary list of poems of this kind is to be found in the second column of the table supplied at the close of this study.

### 184

Bernabé has observed *ad Carmen Naupactium*, test. 123, that the variant titles of this poem are attested by several sources; this state of affairs is similar to the alternation of the titles Κύπρια and Κυπριακά.

### 185

The available sources do not, for the most part, inform us as to the author of the poem. Pausanias is an exception, and affirms that the *Carmen Naupactium* is to be attributed to one Carcinus of Naupactus, on the grounds of information derived from Charon of Lampsacus. It is, however, *communis opinio* that the author came from Miletus. Cf *Carmen Naupactium* test. 123 Bernabé (= Paus. 10. 38. 11) τὰ δὲ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρὶ ἐσποιοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ Μιλησίῳ· Χάρων (*FGrHist* 262 F 4) δὲ ὁ Πύθεω φησιν αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι Ναυπάκτιον Καρκίνον. ἐπόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ δόξῃ· τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἔχοι ἂν ἔπεσιν ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου πεποιημένοις ἐς γυναῖκας τεθῆναι σφισιν ὄνομα Ναυπάκτια; Pausanias' question is indeed poignant: what are the implications of ascribing a poem entitled *Carmen Naupactium*, devoted furthermore to matrilineal genealogy, to

a man of Miletus? The question has its rationale given the nature of critical debate, which would assume the ties between an epic composition and its context of production and first execution to be close and initially exclusive. In other words, Pausanias' question naturally follows, albeit at the end of a long chain of transmission of the texts under investigation, from treating as a given the notion that this kind of epic was intimately related to the epichoric context wherein it originated.

### 186

On the collocation of this city in Thesprotia or, rather, in Elis, see West 1981, 221.

### 187

See West 2003a, 33.

### 188

On the general question of the authorship of the greater part of the archaic and late-archaic Greek epic, and, more specifically, on the problem of the epic authors in relation to Homer, see Burkert 1972, 75–76, and Cerri 2000.

### 189

Among the sources that inform us of the inclusion of Pisander and Panyassis in the Alexandrian canon cf Pisander test. 7 Bernabé (= Procl. *Vit. Hom.* 2 Seve. = Panyas. test. 8 Bernabé); Pisand. test. 8 Bernabé (= Tzetz. *ad Hesiod. O* 12 Gaisford = Panyas. test. 9 Bernabé); Pisand. test. 9 Bernabé (= Anecd. Oxon. III 339. 31 Cramer = Tzetz. *περὶ διαφ. ποιητ.* 170 = Panyas. test. 10 Bernabé); Pisand. test. 10 Bernabé (= Tzetz. *in Lycophr. Alex.* 1. 23 Scheer = Panyas. test. 11 Bernabé); Pisand. test. 12 Bernabé (= Ps.-Censorin. *De mus.* 71. 8s. Sallmann); Panyas. test. 12 Bernabé (= Michael Italicus *a* Anecd. Oxon. III 189. 21 Cramer); Panyas. test. 13 Bernabé (= Dion. Hal. *Imit.* 2. 2); Panyas. test. 14 Bernabé (= Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 52–54). On the problem of the relation between Pisander of Camirus and the canon, see above.

### 190

On the epic diction of the poem by Pisander and of other hexameter compositions of the archaic and classical age, in which the presence of 'Doric' features signals a more strictly local than Panhellenic context of production and context of performance, see Lulli 2007 and Lulli 2009.



**191**

See Palmisciano 'Oral Poetry' in this volume.

**192**

See Ercolani in this volume.

**193**

Jakobson 1960.

**194**

For the fundamental insight that Greek poetry is occasion-bound, see Gentili 2006 (1984<sup>1</sup>).

**195**

See Ercolani in this volume.

**196**

See Palmisciano, 'Oral Poetry', in this volume; see *infra* for further clarifying remarks on this issue.

**197**

Ong 1963.

**198**

The transition is examined in Rossi 1992.

**199**

Rossi 2000, 170.

**200**

See Ercolani in this volume.

**201**

Rossi first made the observation at a seminar held at Oxford in 1979 (*Greek Monodic Poetry and the Symposion*, 'Nellie Wallace Lecturership', see Vetta 1983b, XIII n. 1), but see also Rossi 1983, 44 and 49. The opinion is now widely held, and has been voiced by scholars independently of Rossi (see Bowie 1986, for instance, on archaic elegy alone).

**202**

See, for instance, Vetta 1983a, Lissarrague 1987, Murray 1990, Catoni 2010.

**203**

The precedence of the occasion also held with other text-

typologies, as for instance epinician odes. Both the impromptu performances of the archaic age and the authorial compositions of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides (see, on this subject, Palmisciano, 'Oral Poetry', in this volume, were elaborated for an occasion, the victory of an athlete, which belonged to a pre-existing and originally independent order of events from the poetic performance. Certain occasions, contrariwise, were expressly instituted for the performance of specific types of text: the rhapsodic *agones*, and the dramatic *agones* at Athens would be two such occasions.

## 204

Homeric symposia were the concluding part of the evening meal. They had not yet become a fully independent occasion (leftover meats and breads remained on the tables and were not cleared away), but were marked as a partially autonomous event (the wine-drinking was preceded by offering a libation), and had a reserved setting: see Colesanti 1999.

## 205

On the fragments of Alcman that are interpretable as monodic (for instance *PMGF* 19), see Vetta 1983b, LIV, and most recently Di Noi 2007.

## 206

Xenophan. 1. 19–22 W. appears to call for the banishment of the epic from symposia – thus confirming that it typically featured; cf also Aristoph. *Pax* 1265 ff. and *Eccl.* 678 ff.

## 207

For instance Simonid. *PMG* 507 in Aristoph. *Nub.* 1355 f.

## 208

Cf Aristoph. *Nub.* 1353 ff. The difference, however, lies in the fact that, unlike epic and sympotic texts, these excerpts from the tragedies were being re-used: the sympotic occasion would thus have been secondary vis-à-vis the primary occasion of the Athenian dramatic *agones*.

## 209

Epic texts, for instance, not only were performed at a variety of occasions over the archaic and classical ages (meal/symposium, rhapsodic *agones*, such local festivals as the Panathenaea); in the fourth century BCE, with the advent of

the book, the former occasions for epic recitation subsided and the texts were reserved for publication in writing. Epic texts and sympotic poetry thus show that the general principle 'demise of the occasion/demise of the text-typologies' outlined by Palmisciano, 'Oral Poetry', in this volume did not apply deterministically.

## **210**

On the subject, see Colesanti 2011, 19-33 (with ample bibliography).

## **211**

The issue is discussed, with references, by Colesanti 2011, 26-29; insightful remarks on the instrumental role of music in the transmission of lyric texts in Giordano 2003.

## **212**

The number of books composing the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus has been inferentially set at ten (hence the estimated figure of 10,000 lines), since, as we know, no further book than the tenth ever appears mentioned in the indirect tradition (cf fr. 322-324 Voigt = Liberman).

## **213**

The case is argued (with reason, in my estimation) by Liberman 1999, XXXVII (a similar case is also made by Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, 53, and Colesanti 2011, 28).

## **214**

On writing materials, on occasional and systematic archival records, and on the reasons behind the production of archives, see Colesanti 2011, 27 f., 284-289.

## **215**

Rossi 2000, 171, had classed as submerged texts 'i canti simposiali arcaici che non furono riusati nella prassi simposiale successiva', which is to say the texts that were not re-used in the course of symposia. A further distinction is in order: archival storage (oral or written) of a text, however intended for re-usage, is insufficient to guarantee that the text be actually reused – something that depends entirely on the individual symposiast. It is indeed feasible that a text stored in memory or in writing be never reused (although a written text may still emerge subsequently): as the time lag between a text's first performance and storage increases, a

written text stands better chances of being reused than a memorized text. A memorized or written text reused on several occasions may also cease to be reused, and be submerged within the domain of sympotic oral publication (with the difference that written texts may emerge subsequently to the end of the occasion). Overall, submersion was a function of diverse variables intervening at several stages, beyond the practice of re-usage at symposia (see *infra*).

## 216

Diog. Laert. 1. 79 and Sud. 4. 136. 31 Adler; it is equally possible that the attribution of this elegiac corpus to Pittacus should be false, motivated solely by his being one of the Seven Sages of antiquity (cf West 1992, 47).

## 217

Alcaeus was certainly re-used at Athenian symposia until the fifth century BCE (cf Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1232/5 and fr. 235 K.-A.; also *carm. conv.* PMG 891); Noussia 2001, 51 n. 113 deems it probable that as early as the sixth century BCE the poems of Alcaeus were circulated orally, possibly in writing, in the Athens of his contemporary, Solon (who was also held to have known the poetry of Sappho, going by a disputed anecdote of Aelian. fr. 187 Hercher = 190 Domingo-Forasté).

## 218

His verse was demonstrably known in the *milieu* of Solon: cf Solon's famous '*reposte*' to Mimnermus in Solon. 20 W.

## 219

Some of the texts were incorporated in the Theognidean corpus, vv. 795–796 (Mimn. 7 W.) and 1020–1022 (Mimn. 5. 4–6 W.).

## 220

Two sections of the same elegy by Tyrtaeus were re-used in Theogn. 935–938 (Tyrt. 12. 37–42 W.) and 1003–1006 (Tyrt. 12. 13–16 W.).

## 221

Rossi 2000, 170: 'testi maltrattati *fin dal primissimo inizio della trasmissione*, o anche testi che non hanno avuto *alcuna trasmissione affatto*'.

## 222

In the fifth century BCE the audience was still made up of members of a political faction (I have in mind, e.g., the poems of Critias, undoubtedly destined to his fellow *hetairoi*: see Iannucci 2002, 29, who rightly reappraises and underlines the political nature of the elegies of Critias and of his *drinking group* as elements of ‘forte continuità con la tradizione arcaica’, *contra* those critics who frame Critias as a forerunner of the Alexandrian mode). However, symposia enjoyed such social prestige as to be also held by individuals unattached to a specific political allegiance (cf, for instance, the attendants at Plato’s *Symposium*).

## 223

It should be clear, at this stage, that the lyrical ‘I’ is in fact a collective ‘we’: besides instantiating such functions as the emotive, poetic, conative, etc., sympotic poetry had a marked referential function in declaring the values to which the *drinking group* subscribed (see Rösler 1985, Gentili 1995 [= Gentili 2006], 64–68, and particularly Rossi 2002). The expression of such values, frequently under the guise of precepts or teachings, served to consolidate the mutual bonds among members around the shared value-system (Colesanti 2011, 262–283).

## 224

Plat. *Men.* 95c–e, and Xenophon. περὶ Θεόγνιδος (*On Theognis*) *apud* Stob. 4. 29c. 53.

## 225

This is the interpretation of the Theognidean *corpus* I set forth in Colesanti 2011. I derive the definitions ‘sympotic pairs’ and ‘sympotic chains’ from the work of Massimo Vetta (see, for instance, Vetta 1984).

## 226

With regard to Theognis, the interpretation was advanced by Figueira and Nagy 1985, and more recently by Bowie 2012 (who identifies Euenus of Paros as responsible for the anthology, composed of poems by Theognis and others, including Euenus himself); with regard to Solon by Aloni and Iannucci, forthcoming (who, espousing the interpretation of Theognis in Bowie 2012, tentatively propose Critias as curator of the anthology containing poems by Solon, by his imitators, and elegies by Critias himself); with regard to Archilochus by

Ornaghi 2010, 56 f. (who, on the model of recent interpretations of Theognis' *corpus*, suggests a composite origin for the *corpus* of Archilochus, which would thus also feature the work of poets near him, or slightly posterior).

## 227

A further instance is fr. 2 Powell by Phoenix of Colophon, a refined version of the *koronisma*, the begging song. As with lullabies, the begging song text-typology was attached to a specific occasion which was never discontinued, and yet did not ensure the emergence of any of the individual texts.

## 228

See, in general, Waern 1960 and Lambin 1992, 15–18 (*Les berceuses*); on Soph. *Phil.* 827–864 see Avezzù 2000.

## 229

Although Waern 1960, 3 maintains that no certain conclusions can be drawn regarding the original compositional mode of the ancient Greek lullaby, her surmise, based on Theocr. 24. 7–9, is that in Greek antiquity lullabies were short, their subject-matter was plain and accessible, words recurred at specified places, and there were frequent alliterations and a high number of vowels and diphthongs. A similar view is held by Lambin 1992, 17, based on Soph. *Phil.* 827–864 and Eur. *Or.* 174–179 (hymn to Night, comparable to a lullaby). Sanga 1979, 41 classed modern lullabies in three groups: *magical lullabies*, with a direct invocation to sleep; *venting lullabies*, and *erotic lullabies* – the latter two with a joint emotive and conative function. In *venting lullabies*, a woman voices the weariness and frustration caused by her child's sleeplessness, wishing the child would disappear for some time (though she may even threaten to beat the child in exasperation). Some such lullabies conjure frightful scenarios, and even the child's death: a revengeful approach, we might say, inspired by the mother's frustrated efforts, where sleep is (somewhat paradoxically) enforced on the child through fear. In other texts there is no relation to child-minding, and the woman laments the female condition, or the general human condition in general. Finally, in the *erotic lullabies*, the woman expresses her feelings of tenderness towards the child, and glorifies its beauty and state.

## 230

We have some written record of Greek lullabies from the past

five hundred years (the so-called νανουρίσματα 'nanourismata'). In more recent times, ethnographers and anthropologists have collected audio recordings of modern lullabies worldwide (it goes without saying that ancient melodies were also entirely submerged, along with the texts).

### 231

See Harris 1991 (= Harris 1989), 27 f., 56 (conjectures women in the archaic period were largely illiterate), 109 and 117 (likelihood that some, not all, Athenian women from privileged backgrounds might have been taught at home by a slave), 121-123, 125, 129 (literacy among Spartan women more marginal still than among Athenian women), 162 f. (female literacy rates in the Hellenistic age comparable to the classical age). See *contra*, Pébarthe 2006, 58-60.

### 232

If any written records ever were produced, they would have been too few and sporadic to ensure the transmission of the texts (on the subject, we may idly muse whether Sappho ever wrote down a lullaby for her daughter Cleïs).

### 233

Riccardo Palmisciano has commented that the failure to record lullabies, resulting in their submersion, may reflect their being conceived for an uncomprehending audience and their accordingly negligible verbal import (efficacy residing in intonation and melody). While I appreciate the anthropological slant of the observation, I would still maintain that not all lullabies, to say the least, forgo verbal sense: simple though they be, several lullabies are at any rate meaningful (see Del Giudice 1988, for instance, on Italian lullabies).

### 234

Waern 1960, 2.

### 235

Finnegan 1977, 201-203.

### 236

On the issue of control over the texts, see, in general, Rossi 2000.

### 237

Palmisciano 2003, 167.

## 238

I wish to dedicate the first part of this study to Flavio, my revelling companion of old, and the second to Benedetta, who many a time has gone to sleep in my arms while I sang lullabies to her.

## 239

This article is an enlarged and modified version of Palmisciano 2014.

## 240

Rossi 1997 provides a persuasive and remarkably clear argument for the preeminence of the spectacular dimension in Greek poetry over the verbal. The tenet around which Rossi built his argument is that, (757): 'Fin dagli inizi la letteratura, affidata com'era a una pubblicazione comunitaria e cerimoniale propria di un'epoca prima integralmente orale e poi aurale, rientrava in quello che possiamo definire spettacolo: un cantore di fronte a un pubblico'.

## 241

On the diverse nature of Demodocus' performances in book VIII of the *Odyssey* and on the choreutic/mimic features in the *Loves of Ares and Aphrodite* see Palmisciano 2012.

## 242

On choreutic and musical representations in the art of the late-geometric period see Crowhurst 1963; Lawler 1964; Tölle-Kastenbein 1964; Wegner 1968; Webster 1970; Csapo 2006–2007 (for further bibliography see *infra* n. 5). These materials will be cast in the perspective of 'submergence' by Matteo D'Acunto in the next volume in this series.

## 243

On the feats of Komasts and padded dancers see the studies in Csapo and Miller 2007, Part 1: 'Komasts and Predramatic Ritual', 41–117 and the monograph by Smith 2010. On satyrs and characters in satyr-costume see below.

## 244

For a masterly discussion of the ritual background to choral poetry, see Brelich 1969. A decisive turn towards a comprehensive approach to choral poetry was made with the studies of Webster 1970; Calame 1977; Gentili 2006 (1984<sup>1</sup>); Lonsdale 1993.



## 245

On the hyporchema see Di Marco 1973-1974 and Napolitano 2000. Cf also Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 9. 748a *infra* n. 8.

## 246

Cf the scene of the *Loves of Ares and Aphrodite*, in which the performance space is defined *choròs* and marked out and prepared by nine ministers (*Od.* 8. 260).

## 247

On χορὸν διδόναι, cf Plat. *Resp.* 382c 2, *Leg.* 817d 7; Aristot. *Poet.* 1449b1-2; on χορὸν αἰτεῖν cf Aristoph. *Eq.* 513; Crat. fr. 17. 1 K.-A. The occurrence of χορός to indicate tragedy by synecdoche is attested in Aristoph. *Av.* 787, *Ran.* 1419, and to indicate comedy in Aristoph. *Ach.* 628, *Eq.* 521, *Eccl.* 1160; Men. *Sam.* 737. Of significance, in this regard, are the words of Ammonius in Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 9. 748a, who defines poetry as φθεγγομένην ὄρχησιν and then upholds the identity of poetry and dance ὄρχηστικῇ δὲ καὶ ποιητικῇ κοινωνία πᾶσα καὶ μέθεξις ἀλλήλων ἐστί, καὶ μάλιστα [μιμούμεναι] περὶ (τὸ) τῶν ὑπορχημάτων γένος ἔν ἔργον ἀμφότεραι τὴν διὰ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων μίμησιν ἀποτελοῦσι.

## 248

Archaeological findings from the Orthia sanctuary are illustrated in Dawkins 1929, 1-51; on ritual aspects see Rose 1929. On the masks see Dickins 1929 and Carter 1987. Carter 1988 argues for the connection between the sanctuary masks and the performance of Alcman's *Partheneion*.

## 249

On the site and the cult of Despoina at Licosura see Jost 1985, 172-178 (description of the site), 327-334 (cult of Despoina), esp. 328 f., 332 f. on the zoomorphic masks.

## 250

Probably the legendary Κερασταί described in Ov. *Met.* 10. 222-237. Tables with reproductions of these Cypriot figurines in Laurens and Louka 1987. I find it remarkable that, out of the corpus of images, the standing figures which hold the zoomorphic mask in hand (against their chest) should be a minority; most of the statuettes are clearly portrayed in the act of putting on or taking off the mask, and there is one instance (fig. 11) of two figures facing each other as they perform the same act. I believe this iconography is to be

related to a ritual act referable to the epiphany of the divinity, which could or had to be enacted simultaneously by more than one person.

## 251

The bear-mask is worn by a naked man and a young woman clad in a chiton and himation on a krateriskos from Brauron (ca. 420 BCE), now held in a private collection: see Kahil 1977, 92–94 (with remarkable reproductions in drawing) and pl. 20. 2–3.

## 252

On the mysteric cult of Demeter Kidaria see Jost 1985, 319–322.

## 253

The ritual dimension of ancient drama is explored, on the submerged front, by Manuela Giordano in this volume (with bibliography).

## 254

Significantly, Aristotle had comedy derive from ritual processions, more exactly from phallic processions and rural rituals. See also the discussion of ‘submerged’ production referable to comic spectacles in the contribution to this volume by Maurizio Sonnino.

## 255

Choral songs and δρώμενα: IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1078, 29; Plut. *Alc.* 34. 4; men on the bridge: Hesych. s. νν. γεφυρίς, γεφυρισταί (I 374 Latte).

## 256

SIG 57 = LSAM 50, the inscribed stela dates to the second half of the second cent. BCE, though the regulations were much older.

## 257

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.49; ABV 83.4, 682; *Paralipomena*, 30; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, 23; Richter 1932, 272–275, pls 10–11 may be regarded the first publication of the vase and most accurate description to date; Boardman 1974, 35 and fig. 50; Beazley 1986, 38, pl. 32, 5–6; Korshak 1987, no. 1 and fig. 74; Immerwahr 1990, 27 f.; 45 and pl. 5; Cohen 1991, 53–55; Hedreen 1992, 125–126, pl. 4; Dasen 1993, 294–295

(G41) and pl. 59.1 a-c; Sparkes 2000, 86-88, fig. 5.1; Isler-Kerényi 2001, 193-195 and figs 122-123; Isler-Kerényi 2004, 32 f.; Walsh 2009, 51-52; 68-69, catalogue 126.5a-b (p. 323). Full, high-quality illustrations of the aryballos on the Museum website: [www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/26.49](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/26.49).

## 258

Nearchus' aryballos first received due attention in the study of Hedreen 1992, esp. 125-128; Hedreen further pointed out the presence of men disguised as satyrs in black-figure ceramics and of satyr scenes in certain Attic, Boeotian, and Peloponnesian vases. Hedreen's observations were well received by Sparkes 2000 and Walsh 2009, 68 f., but seem not to have persuaded philologists, as shown by Krumeich in *Satyrspiel*, 52 n. 49, who ultimately rejects Hedreen's conclusions and explains away the detail of the costume as an ordinary variation on archaic satyr iconography.

## 259

This detail in the representation was brought into due relief by Hedreen 1992, 125. The absence of hairs on the neck is not, in itself, proof of a disguise: I would have reservations in claiming the hirsute satyr embracing a woman on an amphora fragment by the Amasis Painter is in fact wearing a costume (Samo inv. K 898; ABV 151. 18; Beazley 1986, 55 f. and pl. 56, 2; Kreuzer 1998, 5, 119 no. 29, Taf. 8, 29a; Isler-Kerényi 2004, 64 f. and fig. 32): whereas, in the aryballos, the body hairs cut off at a neatly drawn line one cannot but interpret as the hem of a costume, here the cut-off line is smudged, suggesting the hairs may naturally thin out.

## 260

Istanbul 4514; ABV 42.37; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, 11; Hedreen 1992, 126 and n. 5; Isler-Kerényi 2001, 109 fig. 38; 110 fig. 40; Isler-Kerényi 2004, 14 f.

## 261

USA, private collection; Isler-Kerényi 2001, 82 n. 11, 109 fig. 37; Isler-Kerényi 2004, 16 and fig. 8.

## 262

London B 103.16; Carpenter 1986, 91, pl. 18B; Hedreen 1992, 126 and n. 6; Isler-Kerényi 2004, 16 and fig. 6.

## 263

München, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 2088; *ABV* 232.18; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup>, 60; Korshak 1987, num. 40, figs 60–61 (see esp. fig. 61); Hedreen 1992, 125 and nn. 3–4.

## 264

Hedreen 1992, 125–130 reasons along these lines and rightly examines the iconography of the ‘Peloponnesian’ satyrs, whose non animal-like features make them harder to distinguish from human-satyrs.

## 265

Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. 3366, imitation of Attic black figures, particularly of the painter KX; *ABV* 680; Hedreen 1992, 127 and pl. 41; Isler-Kerényi 2001, 52 and 77 fig. 26; Isler-Kerényi 2004, 30 fig. 14.

## 266

Roma, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia M. 453; *ABV* 100.73; Hedreen 1992, 126 and pl. 40 a–b.

## 267

I follow Immerwahr 1990, 27 for the transcription of the names, who examined the aryballos closely. Images sufficiently detailed to allow reading of the inscriptions are in Richter 1932, pl. 11, with an enlargement of the scene on the lip, and Immerwahr 1990, pl. 5.

## 268

The signature area appears to have been carefully laid out. It is also the earliest Attic attestation of a signature conforming to the ἐποίησε module, as I learn from Cohen 1991, 53.

## 269

In the customary meaning of ‘to masturbate’ it appears in Aristoph. *Eq.* 24; *Pax* 290.

## 270

The name may also derive from ψωλός, with no appreciable difference in meaning: cf for ψωλή Aristoph. *Lys.* 143; *Av.* 560; SEG 3, 1927, num. 596 (Panticapaeum, fifth cent. BCE); for ψωλός Aristoph. *Av.* 507 and Schol. *ad loc.* (1140 Koster); *Eq.* 964; *Pl.* 267; Diph. fr. 38 K.-A.

## 271

The comparison was tentatively made by Richter 1932, 274 and n. 6; later taken up with conviction by Beazley 1935, 485–

**272**

Crucial remarks on the purpose of reading vase inscriptions out loud (wherein the function of the vases themselves resided) are to be found in Snodgrass 2000, who continued, by reference to vase inscriptions, Svenbro and Gavrillov's widely known line of study on reading habits in the ancient world.

**273**

On this issue, see the account in Immerwahr 1990, 27 of attempts made at making sense of the inscriptions. I wholeheartedly agree with his concluding judgement: 'The inscriptions do not seem to mock sense, but are pure nonsense words'. On the general issue of nonsense inscriptions, see Immerwahr 1990, 44 f.; Snodgrass 2000, 29 f.

**274**

*P.Leid.* inv. 502-509, second cent. CE, first published by Parsons, Sijpersteijn and Worp 1981 (= fr. 10a. 17-19 and 10b of the *Fragmenta selecta* Merkelbach-West). I have followed the reconstruction supplied by the first editors (p. 14), which is based on the collation of three literary sources: Strab. 10. 3. 19; *P.Vindob. Gr.* inv. 2672; Nonn. *Dionys.* 14. 113-115. Hence the proposed amendment of Strabo's introductory words to the quotation from Hesiod, which would thus read Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Δώρου [ἐκατέρω codd.] καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως θυγατρὸς πέντε γενέσθαι θυγατέρας φησίν. The emendation was accepted, among others, by Most, whose *Catalogue of Women* for Loeb Classical Library (2007) is the most recent edition of this text. For an assessment of this text in the light of the iconographic tradition, see Carpenter 1986, 78 f.

**275**

This would explain why the nymphs are called Δώρου γένος by Leonidas of Tarentum (6. 1 Gow-Page = *AP* 9. 329. 1).

**276**

London E 768; CVA, Great Britain, 8, British Museum, 6, III 1c, p. 12, pl. 105; ARV<sup>2</sup> 446. 262; Carpenter 1986, 79 n. 13.

**277**

Pherec. FGrHist 3 F 11 = 11 Fowler = 44 Dolcetti; Apollod. 2. 4. 2.

### 278

Apollod. 2. 4. 2; Schol. Lyc. 838 (p. 269 Scheer); Hyg. Astr. 2. 12 *a Mercurio, qui eum dilexisse existimatur, talaria et petasum accepit; praeterea galeam, qua indutus ex adverso non poterat videri*. On the relation between Hermes and Perseus (erotic, according to Hyginus), cf Robert 1920, 225.

### 279

See Roccas 1994, nn. 156, 157, 159, 160, 162, 163.

### 280

Aristot. *Hist. animal.* 8. 12. 597a furnishes the detail that the Pygmies dwell south of Egypt, at the springs of the Nile. Mention of a belligerent people of short-statured men who live in Africa beyond the Libyan desert is made by Herodotus (2. 32. 6-7). A close examination of the traditions regarding the geographical collocation of the Pygmies (scrupulous to a fault, although hypercritical in places) is to be found in Janni 1978, esp. 19-44.

### 281

Schol. ad Pind. *P.* 10. 72b (II 248 Drachmann).

### 282

Apollod. 2. 4. 3; Schol. Lyc. 838 (270 Scheer); Lucian. *Dial. mar.* 14. 3; Ov. *met.* 4. 668-669. Other sources situate the episode on the Phoenician coast of Joppe (cf Catterall 1937, col. 985, 21 ff.), although I only mention the fact for the sake of completeness.

### 283

The best reproduction of the tritons appears in Richter 1932, 273 fig. 2.

### 284

A comparable iconography also appears on the Northampton amphora (on which see *infra* and n. 50); on the neck of the amphora is an illustration of a marine deity surrounded by dolphins, while on the shoulder Pygmies ride on cranes' backs (finally tamed after long battling?), see Dasen 1993, 183 for details.

### 285

Schauenburg 1960, 17 and n. 102, contrarily, agrees with Hampe in reading the scene as Perseus' flight after slaying

the Gorgon.

## 286

See, in particular, Roccos 1994, n. 29: black-figure neck amphora from ca. 500 BCE with Perseus and Maenads; Roccos 1994, n. 31: red-figure lekythos from ca. 460 BCE, with a running satyr, holding the *harpe* in the one hand and the *kibisis* with Medusa's severed head in the other. The theme of Perseus showing the *gorgoneion* to a group of satyrs is further represented in a set of red-figure vases from southern Italy, dating 400 to 340 BCE (Roccos 1994, nn. 32–35; 67–68).

## 287

Walsh 2009, 51 f. 'satyrs, like the pygmies and cranes, also serve to undercut and upturn heroic adventures and posturing'. Brilliant remarks on the functional analogies among satyrs and Pygmies in Dasen 1993, 185; Hoffmann 1997, 27 f., 30 f., 35.

## 288

Iconographic correlations between Heracles and Pygmies were studied by Dasen 1993, 187 f. with special attention. In one instance, Heracles is parodically portrayed as Pigmy: the illustration appears on an Attic amphora from ca. 450 BCE (Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R302; see Walsh 2009, 54 f. and fig. 6), where Heracles is represented as a dwarf with an oversized head, lionskin over his shoulder, and club in hand, as he confronts a massive crane.

## 289

CVA, Great Britain, 15, Castle Ashby, Northampton, 1 f., pls. A, 1–3; Dasen 1993, 297, G d56, pl. 62.1; Boardman 1998, 220 and fig. 485. 1–2.

## 290

I have stated my views on the expressive codes in which are embodied the functions of Attic satyr drama in Palmisciano 2008, to which I refer the reader for a more comprehensive treatment of the issue.

## 291

Pygmies seem to perform a function along these lines on an Attic black-figure kylix, held in Taranto: Museo Nazionale I.G. 4435; CVA, Italia, 35, Taranto, Museo Nazionale (III), III H, 6 f., pl. 30; ABV 159.1; *Paralipomena*, 67 (Antidoros); Dasen 1993,

G 42, pl. 59, 2; Dasen 1994 n. 3a., on one side of which we see a scene from the Calydonian Boar hunt, and the battle of Pygmies and cranes on the other. Here too, the battle of the Pygmies would read as a parodic counterpoint to the seriousness of the feat represented on the opposite side of the vase.

## 292

For an analysis of these texts of Simonides in the broader context of traditional forms of choral poetry, see Palmisciano 2007b, esp. 44-46.

## 293

For an application to the ancient world of the concept of the function of a work of literature see Rossi 1972, 249-252.

## 294

Sopater of Paphos (fourth-third cent. BCE) was never active in Italy, but perhaps in Alexandria (Athen. 2. 71ab = Sopat. test. 1 K.-A.). His basing himself on the Italiote phylax tradition however (Athen. 3. 85f; 14.644c, etc. [= Sopat. test. 4 K.-A.]) connects him with Rhinthon. It is uncertain whether Blaesus (third cent. BCE?) was a playwright, but Lyd. *mag.* 1. 41 (= Blaes. test. 2 K.-A.) connects him with Rhinthon and Sciras (third cent. BCE?), defined by Athen. 9. 402b = Scir. test. 1 K.-A. τῆς Ἰταλικῆς καλουμένης κωμωδίας ποιητής.

## 295

See *infra* § 2, partic. n. 15.

## 296

The attempts by Rozik 2002, 29-68, 140-164 to demonstrate the opposite are based on premises (Rozik 2002, 3-28) that do not apply to the ancient Greek world. In particular a definition of theatre as a 'medium that can produce descriptions of acts and, by accumulation, of worlds' (*Idem*, 27), and thus a simple instrument of communication whatever the message contained, fails to take into account the context of ancient Greece, in which it is the *specific* occasion (and therefore the relevant message) which produces the form of the literary genre. On the ritual origin of Greek theatre, besides my analysis below, see Csapo and Miller 2007, 1-38 (partic. 8 ff., 28 f. for a rebuttal of Rozik's ideas).

## 297



Cornford 1914, who in conformity with J.E. Harrison's and G. Murray's ideas traces tragedy and comedy to an original mythical pattern of birth and death. *Contra*: Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 126 ff. See, too, Rozik 2002, 29-68.

## 298

Rozik 2002, 62-68, 157-161 (basing himself above all on Pickard-Cambridge 1962 and Nicoll 1931).

## 299

For the burlesque scenes cf Aristoph. *Ach.* 719 ff., *Nub.* 1214 ff., *Pax* 1043 ff., *Av.* 904 ff., but also Eup. *Demoi* fr. 99. 78-120 K.-A. On the burlesque scenes in general see Cassio 1985a, 129-138.

## 300

Poppelreuter 1893, 23-32, who, despite the 'lay' nature of the hypothetical Greek *Kasperlespiel*, the supposed origin of burlesque scenes, believed (*ibid.* 6-23) that the *animal choruses* depicted on sixth-fifth cent. BCE Attic vases (on which see Sifakis 1971, 71 ff.) testify to the origin of comedy in a *komos* similar to the phallophoria. For a recent attempt to deny the ritual origin of the *animal choruses* see Rothwell 2007, partic. 2-14. Relevant here is the idea of Zieliński 1885, 235 ff., that the burlesque scenes derive from the episodic structure of tragedy.

## 301

Hellenistic-Roman mime was also non-ritual when the performances took place in a sacred context (cf, e.g., the *Floralia* mimes, on which see Reich 1903, 53 ff.; Bonaria 1965, 1-3; Panayotakis 2010, 7, 25 ff.; Cicu 2012, 31). On the lay context of Hellenistic-Roman mime see Puppini 1988, 10; Daris 1988; Tedeschi 2002, 131 ff.; Webb 2008, 1-43.

## 302

See Lightfoot 2002, 210-212. On the *technítai* of Dionysus see Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 279-321; Stephanis 1988; Le Guen 2001, partic. 83-93 (involvement of the *technítai* in cultural events). On the link between the Hellenistic μῦμοι/actors and the so-termed *parasiti Apollinis* see Puppini 1988, 20; Csapo-Slater 1994, 375; Panayotakis 2010, 19 n. 37; Cicu 2012, 20 n. 23.

## 303

On Sosibius see David 1989, 1 f., 18 nn. 5 and 8 (plus bibl.).

### 304

On laughter and the comic in Sparta see David 1989, partic. 8 ff. I believe Breitholtz 1960, 120 and Tedeschi 2002, 130 to be wrong in affirming that Sosibius was portraying the actual situation of his age. Sosibius speaks of an ‘ancient manner’ (τρόπος παλαιός) of comic entertainment, based on an equally ancient praxis. Sosibius then states (*ap.* Plut. *Lyc.* 25. 2 = Sosib. *FGrHist* 595 F 19; see David 1989, 1 f.) that the institution of comic entertainment in the Sparta *symposia* goes back to Lycurgus, implying that the origins of laughter-inducing performance date back to time immemorial.

### 305

See Zieliński 1886 (= 1931, 105).

### 306

Kaibel 1890, 371 contests the idea that a voice ἔθελονταί was used in Thebes, and interprets what we read in Athenaeus as the explanation of a Boeotian term of similar meaning no longer in the text. As will be seen below however (*infra* § 4), the definition of the actors of these comic performances as ‘volunteers’ (ἔθελονταί) tallies with the account in Aristot. *Poet.* 1449<sup>a</sup>37 ff.

### 307

Reich 1903, partic. 12, 232–237 (mime already existing in the archaic period), 15 ff., 231 f., 257 f. n. 1, 275–280, 320–333 (Sosibius’ laughter-inducing performance as mimes). Scholars who accept the ‘mime’ definition of such performances described by Sosibius, include: Reisch 1901; Dalmeyda 1904, 1900; von Salis 1905, partic. 9 ff., 16 ff.; Nicoll 1931, 20 ff.; Bonaria 1960, col. 601; Hunningher 1961, 64 f.; Puppini 1988, 17; Beare 1996, 982; Andreassi 2001, 3 f.; Furley 2006, coll. 921 f.; Olson 2007, 4; Rotstein 2010, 274; Cicu 2012, 25. *Contra*: Körte 1893, 89 ff. and Körte 1903, 540, where he rightly points out that the testimonies do not authorize the reading of Sosibius’s laughter-inducing performances as μῖμοι and speaks of primordial forms of comic performances (see also, e.g., Zieliński 1886 [= 1931, 103 ff.] and West 1974, 36 f. Wüst 1931, coll. 1730–1732, is similarly prudent).

### 308

Zieliński 1886 (= 1931, 107 ff.) believed these ludic

performances of Sosibius to derive from Doric stock-character theatre (*contra*: Körte 1921, col. 1223; Breitholtz 1960, 84; Kerkhof 2001, 5), while being careful not to confuse these with mime, as, e.g., Nicoll does (Nicoll 1931, 29 f.)

### 309

On the ritual nature of masks see Vernant and Frontisi-Ducroux 1972, Burkert 1977, 163 ff. (*contra*: Rozik 2002, 211–215). The absence of masks in Hellenistic-Roman mime is an accepted fact (e.g. Quint. *Inst.Or.* 6.3.29). See Dalmeyda 1904, 1900–1902; Webb 2008, 12 f. Misguided on this point are Reich 1903, 257 n. 1 and Nicoll 1931, 91, for both of whom the absence of masks in the Hellenistic-Roman mime is not an important distinguishing factor from other forms of theatre.

### 310

See Reisch 1901; Wilamowitz 1927, 12; Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 135 (reprising Hesych. δ 450 Latte); David 1989, 8.

### 311

See Lephron 2007, partic. 270 ff. and 273.

### 312

On this etymology see Radermacher 1924, 7; Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 138 f. Wüst 1941, coll. 305 f., however, prefers a derivation from φλύαρος, ‘talkative’.

### 313

Reich 1903, 17–19; Wiemken 1972, 33. See, too, Bernini 1915, 43 ff., 53 ff., 81.

### 314

Plut. *Ag.* 21 (≡ *Apopht. Lac.* 212 e–f; cf *Apost. Cent.* 13. 66) κᾰκεῖνος (*scil.* Agesilaus) ἀποβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν (*scil.* Callippidem) εἶπεν· ‘ἀλλὰ οὐ σύγε ἐσσί Καλλιπίδας ὁ δεικηλίκτας;’ οὕτω δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μίμους καλοῦσι, ‘At that Agesilaus looked towards him and said: ‘Are you not Callippides the buffoon (*deikeliktas*)?’ That is the word that Spartans use of mime-artists’ (transl. D. Braund [modified]).

### 315

Pinto Colombo 1934, 139; David 1989, 8; Csapo 2010, 119 f. Less clear however are Reich 1903, 27, Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 135, and Świdereck 1954, 73, for whom the sense of

the line is to be found in the hostility of the *technítai* of Dionysus (*supra* n. 10) towards the μῦμοι/actors. Callippides' exaggerated gesturality (Aristot. *Poet.* 1461b 34–35) is excellently analyzed by Csapo 2010, 117–139 (but see, too, Hunter 2002, 189 ff.).

### 316

David 1989, 6–17, partic. 6 (on the habit of inebriating a Helot during the Spartiate *symposia* and exposing him to the ridicule of the audience; cf Plut. *Lyc.* 28. 8, *Demetr.* 1.5 etc. See Luraghi 2008, 203–206), 8 f. (hypothesis as to the social status of the Spartan *deikelistai*). David, in partic., posits that the δεικηλιστής who imitated the doctor with a foreign accent was a Helot 'probably trying unsuccessfully to imitate the Dorian accent' (David 1989, 8). This too may of course have been a humiliation inflicted on the Helots. The evidence in Thuc. 4. 3. 3, 41. 2 (on which see Luraghi 2008, 4) would imply that the considerable ability of some Messenians, whose language was very different in sound from the Dorians, to imitate Doric speech was the consequence of a history of humiliations visited on them.

### 317

Myron. *FGrHist* 106 F 2 (*ap.* Athen. 14. 657c–d); see David 1989, 10.

### 318

For a further attempt to backdate the 'mime' phenomenon see *infra* n. 59.

### 319

Diod. 5.4.6. See Fluck 1931, 20; Kern 1901, coll. 2740 f.; MacLachlan 2012, 347.

### 320

Ps.-Apollod. 1.30. See Fluck 1931, 15–19; Deubner 1932, 50–60; Parke 1977, 82–88; Simon 1983, 18–22; Dillon 2003, 110–120; Austin and Olson 2004, xlv–li.

### 321

See Fluck 1931, 13–15 (*Haloa*), 15–17 (*Stenia*), 23–26 (*Demeter Mysia*), 26–33 (*Demeter Chloe*). In partic.: on the *Haloa* see Deubner 1932, 60–67; Parke 1977, 98–100; Simon 1983, 35–37; Dillon 2003, 120–124; on the *Stenia* see Deubner 1932, 52 f.; Parke 1977, 88, 188; Simon 1983, 18 ff.;

Dillon 2003, 109; on Demeter *Mysia* see Dillon 2003, 238; on Demeter *Chloe* see Deubner 1932, 67 n. 10; Burkert 1977, 398; Dillon 2003, 237.

### 322

See Fluck 1931, 52–59. Mylonas 1961, 256, 280 distinguishes between two *gephyrismoï* against: a) the procession directed towards the Eleusian sanctuary; b) those returning from Eleusis (Strab. 9. 1. 24). *Contra*: Richardson 1974, 214. On *Iambe/Baubò* see Richardson 1974, 213 ff.; West 1974, 23 f.; Burkert 1977, 165 ff.; Rotstein 2010, 167–182.

### 323

See Fluck 1931, 20–22; Wilamowitz 1931–1932, I, 98 f.; Deubner 1932, 53, 57 f.; Calame 2001 (= Calame 1977), 139; Larson 2007, 180 f.

### 324

This, at least, is what is stated *ap. schol. vet. Aristoph. Eq.* 547c Jon. See Fluck 1931, 34–51, partic. 41–43; Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 36 f.

### 325

See Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 132–162; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 174–177; Rotstein 2010, 269–276.

### 326

Jacoby *FGrHist* IIIb, 208 posits that Semus was speaking of Delos, his homeland. West 1974, 36, however, considers the phallophoria described to regard the city of Sicyon.

### 327

See Giordano in this volume.

### 328

For a recent review of the archaeological evidence regarding padded dancers see Smith 2009. The first commentator to link the appearance of padded dancers and the costumes of comic actors was Körte 1893.

### 329

The three names Ὀφέλανδρος, Ὀμρικός, Εὔνο(υ)ς, (*pace* Breitholtz 1960, 130 ff., who interprets them as appellations for slaves) are connected with the world of beneficent demons. For a fascinating (albeit dated) interpretation of the demonic nature of the three figures on the Dümmler crater

see Romagnoli 1907 [= 1958, partic. 191-195].

### 330

On the idea that the illustrations on the Dümmler krater are connected with some form of laughter-inducing performance see Körte 1893, 90 f.; Trendall and Webster 1971, 19. Sceptical, on the other hand, are, e.g., Greifenhagen 1922, 102 f.; Breitholtz 1960, 163-181, and Steinhart 2007, 212-216, all of whom interpret them as a scene from a potter's workshop.

### 331

Schachter 2003, 130 (*dubitanter*). On iconographic material of the *Kabeirion* of Thebes see Wolters and Brun 1940; Braun and Haevernick 1981. On the aforementioned illustrations as representations of scenes from drama, see Romagnoli 1907 [= 1958, partic. 214 ff.]; Bieber 1920, 153-155; Webster 1956, 139; Bieber 1961, 48 f.; Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 138; Braun and Haevernick 1981, 26-29; Csapo 2010, 100 (who speaks, correctly, of 'ritual comedy'). On the history of the interpretation of the *Kabeiran* images see Breitholtz 1960, 198-201, who doubts, however, they represent the staging of a drama.

### 332

Cf Aristot. *Pol.* 1300<sup>a</sup>17-19, 1302<sup>b</sup>31, 1305<sup>a</sup>24-26 (events in Megara Nisaea; the expression ἀκόλαστος δημοκρατία ap. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 304e); *Poet.* 1448<sup>a</sup>31 f. (Megarian comedy). Expert opinion divides between those considering 'Megarian' to stand for 'trivial' (Wilamowitz 1875 [*contra*, however, Wilamowitz 1895, 34]; Breitholtz 1960, 40 ff.; Henderson 1991, 223-228), and those who believe in the existence of some form of Megarian laughter-inducing performance, which was a forerunner of the 'canonical' comedy of Sicily and Athens (Zieliński 1885, 244 f.; Körte 1921, coll. 1221 f.; Kerkhof 2001, 6 f., 13-38; Csapo 2010, 99).

### 333

In the most ancient testimony (*Marm. Par.* 239 A 39 J. [= Susar. test. 1 K.-A.]; cf Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.79.1 [= Susar. test. 2 K.-A.]) Susarion is an Attican of the deme of Icaria. It is only in a fictitious line attributed to him (Susar. fr. 1.2 K.-A. [ap. Joh.Diac. in *Hermog.* 149.29; Tzetz. *prooem.* 1.83; schol. Tzetz. *Diff.poe.* 81; schol. Dion.Thr. 19.8] υἱὸς Φιλίνου Μεγαρόθεν Τριποδίσκος) that 'Susarion' appears as a

Megarian from Tripodeske. This was an *ad hoc* falsification (fourth cent. BCE? See Webster *ap.* Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 187) created by those seeking confirmation of the putative derivation of the comedy of Athens from that of Megara.

### 334

Su(i)d. χ 318 Adl. (= Chionid. test. 1 K.-A.) states that Chionides won the first comedy competition held at the Dionysia 'eight years before the Persian Wars' (ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν), i.e. in 487/6 BC (see Capps 1907a, 86 f.). The date of officialization of the Lenaea competition (447/0 BC) is calculated from the list of Lenean winners (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2325 = V C 1 col. 1 Mette. See Capps 1907b, 186 f.; Csapo and Slater 1994, 135 f.).

### 335

The fact is emphasized by, e.g., Aristot. *Rhet.* 1403<sup>b</sup>23 f. (originally the playwrights acted in their own plays). As noted by Csapo and Slater 1994, 120, Chionides is indicated by Su(i)d. χ 318 Adl. as πρωταγωνιστῆς ... τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, an expression which, if it alludes to the fact that Chionides was the first winner in the Dionysia comedy series (*supra* n. 42), means literally that he was 'the principal actor' in his plays. On the fifth cent. BCE playwright/poets (who include Sophocles and even Aristophanes) see Csapo and Slater 1994, 221 f.; Hall 2002, 9.

### 336

*Pace* Webster *ap.* Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 138. See also n. 14.

### 337

Wilson 2008, partic. 88 f. (but see also Csapo and Slater 1994, 139 ff.).

### 338

Epich. fr. 237 K.-A. ἐν πέντε κριτᾶν γούνασι κεῖται, 'the decision rests on the knees of five judges' (transl. E. Csapo) in all probability refers to the judges' final verdict in a drama competition. Cf Hesych. π 1408 Hansen πέντε κριταῖ· τοσοῦτοι τοὺς κωμικοὺς ἔκρινον, οὐ μόνον Ἀθήνησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, 'Five judges: so many judged the comic choruses, not only in Athens, but in Sicily' (transl. E. Csapo). See Olivieri 96 f.; Wilson 2007b, 354 f. Little information is available on the organization of these drama competitions in

fifth cent. BCE Sicily, on which, however, see Wilson 2007b, partic. 354 ff.; MacLachlan 2012, 347 (the drama performances of the Deinomenids in relation to the cult of Demeter and Kore, much revered by them. See, again, Kowalzig 2008).

### 339

Zieliński in partic. rejects the idea that Epicharmus was known in fifth cent. BCE Athens (Zieliński 1885, 243), but see the excellent analysis of the problem by Cassio 1985b, 39–43 and Cassio 2003, 52. Where Cassio is inclined to accept Epicharmus' influence on ancient comedy, Kerkhof 2001, 133–161 maintains that his influence in Athens is to be looked for in the Aeschylean satyr plays. On the hypothesis whereby Aristophanes points to a direct knowledge of Sophron see Kutzko 2012.

### 340

Heydemann 1886. For information on changing opinions on the 'phylax' vase illustrations see Taplin 1993, 52–55 and Csapo 2010, 52 ff.

### 341

Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 139.

### 342

Taplin 1993, 36–41; Taplin 2007, 14; Austin-Olson 2004, lxxv–lxxvii; Csapo 2010, 53–58.

### 343

Taplin 1993, 30–32; Taplin 2007, 13 f.; Csapo 2010, 45–69.

### 344

Taplin 1993, whose ideas are anticipated in Webster 1948 and Gigante 1971.

### 345

See, e.g., Dearden 1999, 242, who looks at the reutilization of single scenes as opposed to whole Attic plays in fourth cent. BCE Italiote theatre. *Contra*: Csapo 2010, 58.

### 346

Gigante 1971; Taplin 1993, 49–52.

### 347

Both Choricus in the sixth cent. CE (*Apol. Mim.* 2.60) and the



moderns (e.g., Reich 1903, 246) speak of μῖμοι/actors at the court of Philip II, also basing themselves on the testimony of *Ol.* II 19 καὶ γὰρ οὐς ἐνθένδε πάντες ἀπήλαυνον ὡς πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους ὄντας, Καλλίαν ἐκεῖνον τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχυρῶν ᾠσμάτων, ὧν εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ποιοῦσιν εἵνεκα τοῦ γελασθῆναι, τούτους ἀγαπᾷ (*scil.* Philippos II) καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει, '[T]he men who were unanimously expelled from Athens, as being more excessive than circus freaks — I mean Callias the hangman and fellows of that stamp, imitators of ridiculous actions, men who compose ribald songs to raise a laugh against their boon companions — these are the men he (= Philip II) welcomes and loves to have about him' (transl. J. H. Vince [modified]). It is clear, however, that the dubious characters who were driven out by the Athenians and sought refuge at the court of Philip II could not have been professional mimes/actors, for the fact of being described as 'more excessive than circus freaks' (πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους), or as behaving more outlandishly than circus performers (θαυματοποιοί). If they are not, then, mimes/actors, the expression μίμους γελοίων may plausibly mean not '(professional) actors/mimes of ridiculous subjects' but a more general 'imitators (μίμους = μιμηταί) of ridiculous actions' created to amuse in the symposium brigade (εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ... εἵνεκα τοῦ γελασθῆναι).

### 348

Cf, e.g., Aristot. *Met.* 356<sup>a</sup>1 ὁ καλούμενος Τάρταρος, 'that which custom calls Tartarus', *Cael.* 284<sup>b</sup>7 οἱ καλούμενοι Πυθαγόρειοι, 'the so-termed Pythagoreans', etc. The participle καλούμενος is never used with the official title of a literary work. It is clear, then, that τοὺς καλουμένους Σώφρονος μίμους can only mean 'the compositions which are generally denoted mimes' (and *not* 'the compositions which Sophron entitled *Mimes*'). The problem, as far as I know, has been generally ignored, with the exception of Bernays 1880, 83 whose alternative translation however ('... schon durch ihren Namen als Nachahmungen auftretenden Werke des Sophron'), would seem improbable.

### 349

Cameron 1995, 89 f.; Hordern 2004, 8 f. *Contra*: Janko 1984, 134 f.

### 350

The performability of Herondas' mimes, roundly dismissed by, e.g., Pasquali 1907 [= 1986], is defended by Mastromarco 1984 (= Mastromarco 1979). Significant here is the fact that Vergil's *Eclogues*, with their considerable debt to Theocritus, were possibly recited on stage by mime artists (Serv. *ap.* Verg. *Ecl.* 6.11; Suet. *de Poet.* 103-4. See Panayotakis 2008). It goes without saying of course that in Herondas and Theocritus mime is only one component of a complex literary product, according to the principles of the commixture of literary genres in erudite Greek poetry.

### 351

Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 712e-f μῖμοί τινές εἰσιν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ὑποθέσεις τοὺς δὲ παίγνια καλοῦσιν· ἀρμόζειν δ' οὐδέτερον οἶμαι συμποσίῳ γένος, τὰς μὲν ὑποθέσεις διὰ τὰ μήκη τῶν δραμάτων καὶ τὸ δυσχορήγητον, τὰ δὲ παίγνια πολλῆς γέμοντα βωμολοχίας καὶ σπερμολογίας οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰ ὑποδήματα κομίζουσι παιδαρίοις, ἅν γε δὴ δεσποτῶν ἢ σωφρονούντων, θεάσασθαι προσήκει, 'There are certain mimes, some of which they call *hypotheses* and others they call *paignia*, but in my opinion neither is consonant with a symposium. The *hypotheses* because of their length and the difficulties of putting them on, the *paignia* because they are full of buffoonery and scandal, unfit to be seen even by the slaves who carry our shoes, if their masters are men of virtue' (transl. J. Davidson). I shall omit here Davidson's hypothesis (Davidson 2000), whereby the παίγνιον was a type of sung mime, licentious in content, in vogue in fifth cent. BCE Athens and written by authors such as Gnesippus, defined by Athen. 14.638d παιγνιαγράφος τῆς ἱλαρᾶς μούσης. For a rebuttal of this idea see Hordern 2003 and Prauscello 2006, 52-60.

### 352

On the presence of mime in Rome see Bonaria 1965, 1-5; Panayotakis 2010, 22 ff.; Cicu 2012, 30-36.

### 353

Forms of organized theatre tended to disappear in Byzantium with the arrival of iconoclasm (Puchner 2002, 304 ff.). A crucial date is that of the ban on Christological mime: see Puchner 2002, 316.

### 354

In actual fact other Latin mimigraphs were also probably read (e.g. Marullus [second cent. CE], on whom see Cicu 2012, 63

f.), but they remain sporadic cases particularly in view of mime's long history.

### 355

On Philistion see Reich 1903, 417–615 (criticized, not unjustly, by Körte 1903, 543–549). For a more balanced treatment see Wüst 1938.

### 356

Cunningham 1987, 36 ff. (*Fragmenta Mymorum Papyracea* [= *FMP*]; but see the considerably earlier work of Manteuffel 1930, 123 ff.). To Cunningham's list should be added: PKöln VI 245 (*Ptocheia, or Odysseus in Disguise at Troy*; see *infra* n. 70); POxy 3700 (*Heracles and Omphale*; see Haslam 1986, 23–26); PCol. Inv. 546 a (see Elliott 2003, partic. 60).

### 357

Wiemken 1972, 45–109; Santelia 1991 (on the *Charition* mime only); Andreassi 2001; Tsitsiridis 2011. On the diacritics of POxy 413 see Wiemken 1972, 70–72; Andreassi 2001, 18 f.; Tsitsiridis 2011, 187 f., 191 f.

### 358

On the alternative text of the *Charition* mime (POxy 413<sup>v</sup> = *FMP* 6. 107–149 Cunn.) see Wiemken 1972, 76 ff.; Andreassi 2001, 63, 81–86; Webb 2008, 108; Tsitsiridis 2011, 186 f., 205 f. On the *Moicheutria* as script with the part of the archimime alone (very few occasional lines excepted *ap.* POxy 413<sup>v</sup> = *FMP* 7. 71–85 Cunn.), see Tsitsiridis 2011, 193–197, 207 ff.

### 359

On PBerol 13876 as probable mime script see Esposito 2005, 14. On PLitLond 97 (an arbitration involving a prostitute, an elderly father, and a buffoon), see Puppini 1988, 12 ff.

### 360

Page 1942, 363: 'This fragment is inscribed ἐκ βιβλιοθήκης Πρασίου Ἡρακλείδης: evidently the texts of these wretched and ephemeral pieces were circulated for the delectation of the reading public.'

### 361

Puppini 1988, 13 ff. refers to PLitLond 97 as a script, without dealing with the problem of its 'signature'. In the view of Hordern 2004, 10 Heraclides is a mime /actor, but it is more

probably Prasias, from whom Heraclides made a copy of the mime/play for personal use. PLitLond 97, as Roberto Nicolai has suggested to me, is to be regarded as a link between the script (with which it shares the use of initials to identify speakers) and the copy transcribed for personal reading (on this see *infra*).

### 362

I here follow Gianotti 1996, 273–277 (followed by Esposito 2005, 12), and interpret the content of PKöln VI 245 as mime rather than a fragment of a tragedy (Parca 1991, 95, 109–112). On the corrections on PKöln VI 245, see Parca 1991, 4 f.

### 363

Wiemken 1972, partic. 22–24, 41, 153 (*contra*: Tsitsiridis 2011, 195 f.). The idea, moreover, had already been expressed in Pasquali 1907 (= 1986, 337 f.), and is reprised, e.g., in Świdereck 1954, 67; Bonaria 1965, 1; Puppini 1988, 7 f., 17; Webb 2008, 112–115. For a further bibliography on the point see Cicu 2012, 112–114.

### 364

Gianotti 1996, 270.

### 365

A generalized distinction. Panayotakis 2010, 3–4, however, while using it, correctly notes that ‘it is instructive to note that the differentiation between ‘literary’ and ‘popular’ was not made by ancient authors, whose testimonies normally betray an obvious contempt for all of these shows’.

### 366

See Ercolani and Nicolai in this volume.

### 367

Wiemken’s observations here are misleading (Wiemken 1972, 21–24) in attempting a distinction between all that is ‘literary’ and mime, which, being performance-geared, was not. Was this not, all the same, literature?

### 368

Sen. *Epist.* 8. 8 *quantum disertissimorum versuum inter mimos iacet! quam multa Publilii non excalceatis sed coturnatis dicenda sunt!*, ‘What a quantity of sagacious verses lie buried in the mime! How many of Publilius’s lines are

worthy of being spoken by buskin-clad actors, as well as by wearers of the slipper!’ (transl. R. M. Gummere). On collections of maxims comparing Menander and Philistion see Wüst 1938, col. 2403.

### 369

As noted by Gianotti 1996, 268 f., partic. n. 9, Seneca sometimes gives the impression that he takes Publilius’ lines that interest him directly from theatre performances (Sen. *Epist.* 108. 8 *non vides quemadmodum theatra consonent quotiens aliqua dicta sunt quae publice adgnosimus et consensu vera esse testamur?*, ‘Have you not noticed how the theatre re-echoes whenever any words are spoken whose truth we appreciate generally and confirm unanimously?’ [transl. R.M. Gummere]).

### 370

Unlike Janko 1984 (on whom see Nesselrath 1990, 102–149), I agree with Bernays 1880, 133–187, that while the *Tractatus Coislinianus* contains material deriving from Aristotle, it is not a direct summary of the lost second book of the *Poetics*. See, too, n. 79.

### 371

In my view Kayser 1906, 23 is right in asserting that the μῖμοι in *TC* 2 are the dramatic mimes of the Hellenistic-Roman period. All this of course bears importantly on the question of the origins of the *Tractatus Coislinianus* (*supra* n. 78). In the late Iulian. *Contra Her.* 6 (πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέγξωμαι τὴν τραγωδίαν μετὰ τοῦ σατύρου καὶ τῆς κωμωδίας καὶ τοῦ μίμου, ‘the whole of tragedy put together, along with satiric drama, comedy and the mime’ [transl. W. Cave Wright]) tragedy, comedy, satyr play, and mime are all on the same level, as in *TC*.

### 372

The same idea probably lies behind the so-termed *Anecdoton Estense* (*AE* 2.1–3, on which see partic. Kayser 1906, 71 ff.) and Proclus (*ap. Phot. Bibl.* 319 Bekker).

### 373

Su(i)d. σ 894 Adl. See Olivieri 1947, 63.

### 374

Reich 1903, 280 f. (but see, too, Wiemken 1972, 14) was

convinced that all designations prefixed by *μῦμο-* were of Aristotelian origin. See, too, Tedeschi 2002, 130 n. 201.

### 375

Reich 1903, 233 ff. is certainly correct in asserting that *magody/lysiody* and *hilarody/simody* were forms of sung mime (*pace* Körte 1903, 540), as already perceived by Wilamowitz 1896 and Crusius 1896, who had used the terms to describe performances such as the *Lament of the exclusiva amatrix* (PGrenf 1<sup>v</sup> = PLitLond 50<sup>v</sup>; *supra* § 5). For Athen. 14. 620d ff. the ‘classic’ analysis remains that of Hiller 1889.

### 376

Watzinger 1901, 1–8; Bieber 1920, 176–177; Csapo and Slater 1994, 376; Panayotakis 2010, 18–19 (with bibl.). Bernini 1915, 62 f. n. 1 is excessively sceptical in claiming that the scene on the lamp depicts new comedy, and not mime.

### 377

See *supra* § 5 and n. 59.

### 378

The view that the noun *ὑπόθεσις* on the lamp refers to the specific type of dramatic mime indicated by Plutarch is held, among others, by: Dalmeyda 1904, 1901; Kehoe 1984, 102 f.; Andreassi 2001, 9–10; Furley 2006, col. 921; Cicu 2012, 28. Both Reich 1903, 553, and Körte 1903, 54 however believe it to have the general meaning of ‘plot’ (and not the more specific, ‘mime/*ὑπόθεσις*’).

### 379

I wish to thank P. E. Easterling for her precious remarks on this paper.

### 380

This synchronic perspective opens an altogether different line of inquiry from that of the ‘origins and pre-history of drama’ as undertaken by Csapo and Miller 2007. The present work sees tragedy as coterminous with other ritual performances, whilst also allowing to shed some light on the question of origins.

### 381

See Broggiato and Nicolai in this volume. On the history of tragedy in the ancient world see *TrGF I*, Mette 1977, Pickard-

Cambridge 1988, Green 1994, Csapo and Slater 1995; for a collection of ancient epigraphic and literary evidence, Easterling 1997c, 2005, and 2006.

### 382

See Colesanti and Giordano in this volume.

### 383

See Bateson 1972, 455 ff., and, on the use of 'mapping' in cybernetic explanation, 407 f.

### 384

Among the several studies I could not possibly account for exhaustively, I found Easterling 1993 and Sourvinou-Inwood 2003 to be particularly insightful on tragedy and ritual; for an overall appraisal of tragedy-in-context with particular attention to its social and political aspects, Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1972 stand as a watershed in this field; see also Longo 1990, Goldhill 1990, Winkler and Zeitlin 1990, Easterling 1997a.

### 385

Including the risk of reducing tragedy entirely to its occasion, to be sure. See, in this regard, the important remarks of Finkelberg 2006. I have already discussed the issue of reductionism in Giordano 2005b; see also Griffith and Carter 2011.

### 386

Bateson 1972, 408. See pp. 405–416 for a fuller account. The idea of hierarchy of contexts drives us 'to seek for explanation in the ever larger units', *Idem*, 408. Bateson posits furthermore that a hierarchy of contexts within contexts is a 'universal for the communicational (or 'emic') aspect of phenomena', *ibi*

### 387

I take the term 'interconnected' in the sense elaborated in Oudemans and Lardinois 1987. We may safely assume that for fifth century Athenian tragedy was at the same time a ritual forming 'part of the religious discourse of the polis', as the late Sourvinou-Inwood demonstrated with a wealth of material, Sourvinou-Inwood 2003; on the Great Dionysia as a performance 'integral to democracy in action', see particularly Cartledge 1997, Goldhill 1990, and 2000; Connor 1996a and

1996b.

### 388

The terms 'politics' and 'religion' in inverted commas will hereafter be used to highlight the etic use of these oppositions (i.e. 'what we would call politics as opposed or impermeable to religion'), and to caution against the unwarranted, if common, assumption that the ancient Greeks would class the phenomena under scrutiny in terms of the same opposition. See in general Geertz 1980, a ground-breaking study; for religion see Smith 2004, Zecharya 2007, and Nongbri 2008.

### 389

See for example Goldhill 1999, 20: 'the separation of 'religion' as a discrete aspect of polis life is quite misleading'. No integral treatment of the subject has been endeavoured so far, and such a misapprehension in fact keeps besetting scholarly debate, including debates on (the function of) tragedy.

### 390

Cf the similar space in *Il.* 18. 497–508, part. 504, where in the *hieros kyklos*, the 'polished seats', *xestoi lithoi*, are a sort of *prohedria ante litteram*. See Martin 1951, 19 and ff.; for an examination of Homeric gathering-spaces compared with archaeological evidence, see Longo 2010 part. 205–206, 210. Among the various spaces designed for the gatherings of the people, see particularly the agora in the island of the Phaeacians, enclosing a sacred space (*Od.* 6. 266–267), stone seats (*Od.* 8. 6), and an orchestra for dancing and competitions (*Od.* 8. 109 and ff, 258 and ff).

### 391

This characteristic continued well into the fourth century, most markedly with the Gymnasium, on which see Delorme 1960. See also Nicolai 1987, 18–22.

### 392

See part. Geertz 1980, where he discusses the dynamics of power in the pre-colonial Balinese state, that he defines 'a theatre state', where 'the ritual life of the court, and in fact the life of the court generally, is (...) paradigmatic, not merely reflective, of social order', 13.



### 393

Goody 1977. For a discussion of this point, Bell 1992, 182-187 and Bourque 2000.

### 394

Bell 1992; Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994 speak of the 'unintentional intentionality of ritual action'. Bell convincingly argues that there is little use in understanding ritual as an instrument of a pre-existing doctrine or ideological purpose: 'ritual practices' she argues, 'are themselves the very production and negotiation of power relations', Bell 1992, 196. For ancient Greece see most notably Connor 1987 and his emphasis on civic ritual as a two-way communication; Giordano 2005a; Kowalzig 2007; on the flexibility of ritual in relation to the Great Dionysia see Sourvinou-Inwood 1994, and Goldhill 2000.

### 395

Particularly in the field of tragedy, see for ex. Scullion 2002, Csapo and Miller 2007, *passim*.

### 396

Goldhill and Osborne 1999. See also Kowalzig 2007, 43-55.

### 397

Goldhill 1999, 2, 5. On the inherent shifting of emic and etic perspectives in the very field of performance studies, see / Longo 1990, part. 15-17, had already pointed out the identity of spectators and citizens in the context of the dramatic contest. See Goldhill 1997 on attending the theatre as privileged place to exercise the 'civic gaze'. See Bierl 2009 for comedy.

### 398

Goldhill 2000, 47. I prefer to avoid the terms 'democracy' and 'democratic' as they should be further determined and scrutinized, in this and other contexts. On this still open and debated issue see Rhodes 2003 and 2011, Carter 2011, part. Duncan 2011, and Burian 2011.

### 399

Much work has been done on the function of the chorus: see Calame 1977, a watershed in this field, and, most recently Bacon 1994/95, Kowalzig 2007, Billings, Budelmann, and MacIntosh 2013, Gagné and Hopman 2013. On the role of

choruses for education see the still fundamental Marrou 1964, 69–81.

#### 400

See Parker 2005, 139, ‘Athenians sometimes spoke as if drama was a matter of ‘choruses for Dionysus’ in just the same sense as a Spartan chorus singing a hymn to Apollo was a chorus for Apollo’. Indeed, the tragic poet requests a *choros* to the eponymous archon. On the ritual function of choral dances in tragedy, Henrichs 1994/5; on choral performances see Calame 1999, Calame 2013.

#### 401

See Wiles 1997, who deals exclusively with the space of an already established theatrebuilding and with the performance space within it; my inquiry will be chiefly concerned with *theatra* as spaces for viewing and as antecedents of (and homologous to) the classical curvilinear theatre building.

#### 402

See Smith 1992.

#### 403

Hall 1966. Although proxemics mostly applies to verbal communication, Hall believed that the value of studying proxemics comes from its applicability in evaluating not only the way people interact with others in daily life, but also ‘the organization of space in [their] houses and buildings, and ultimately the layout of [their] towns’. Hall 1963, 1003.

#### 404

See on this point Anti 1947, 153.

#### 405

*Idem*, 16. In spite of the shortcomings that led to a wholesale dismissal of his contribution, the work of the Italian archaeologist should not be disregarded in the reading and interpretation of ancient theatres, as it provides valuable tools for interpretation. His work is best known for the notorious thesis on the quadrilateral orchestra (a still debated issue, on which see Wiles 1997, 46 ff). Recent assessments have confirmed a quadrilateral orchestra for the fifth-century theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus, see Moretti 2000, Csapo 2007, and Goette 2007.

#### 406

See Csapo 2007, 90 for a further specification of the term as 'auditorium' in certain contexts.

#### 407

Remarkable work has been done in this very direction by Wiles 1997, 44 ff.

#### 408

Nielsen 2002 calls it 'a purely religious structure', 16. I obviously do not align with such an interpretation: it is well known that sanctuaries were multifunctional structures: places of refuge and protection, banks, archives, venues for dramatic performances (the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus, for instance).

#### 409

*Ea Anti* 1947 named them 'religious theatres'.

#### 410

For a survey of these *theatra* in Greece see Ginouvès 1972 and Nielsen 2002, 69–148.

#### 411

See for example the *Odeion* of Argos and 'le théâtre à gradins droits', Ginouvès 1972. Nielsen 2002, 16, explains the high frequency of podium temples in Italy in relation to their functions as theatres.

#### 412

*Eadem*, 16.

#### 413

See Dawkins 1929, 52 ff.

#### 414

The most ancient altar dates back to the ninth century BCE, and the first cultic building to the eighth cent., the Doric temple is of the sixth century. See Coudin 2009, 54–58. In Roman times, and possibly before then, the rituals by the altar, called *bomolochiai* (Plut. *Lyc.* 12.6), with the flogging of the ephebes, became particularly spectacular. See Brelich 1969, 134, Frontisi-Ducroux 1984.

#### 415

See Coudin 2009.

#### 416

IG VII 4255. See Petrakos 1996, Lupu 2003.

#### 417

The types listed may overlap since they often belong to a continuous ritual setting, dithyrambs for example may be ranged at the same time as *choroi* and cultic hymns as well as sacrificial songs.

#### 418

Aristophanes playfully parodied the processional mode of the Rural Dionysia in the well known passage of *Acharnians* (237–279). On processions see Kavoulaki 1999, a short but penetrating contribution.

#### 419

Burkert 1990, 16–18, Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 141–161.

#### 420

Kavoulaki 1999, 295. The connection of procession with dithyramb has been thoroughly explored by Csapo and Miller 2007, see for ex. 8–9, 12–13.

#### 421

On sacrifice as ritual performance see Jameson 1999.

#### 422

See, on this point, Connor 1987.

#### 423

See for ex. Plat. *Leg.*, 7. 803e ‘we should live out our lives playing at certain pastimes – sacrificing, singing and dancing – so as to be able to win gods’ favour’ (trans. R. G. Bury, slightly modified).

#### 424

On prayers, see Giordano 2012.

#### 425

Csapo and Miller 2007, 1–38 and *passim*. See also Nagy 2007, 121–122.

#### 426

See in this regard the life-size clay masks found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia mentioned above, representing mainly a young type and an old type, suggesting performative

use. On the ritual drama see the documentation gathered in Nielsen 2002. We may moreover mention the groups of *mystai* of Dionysus performing as gods, in the Athenian *thiasos* of Iobakchoi; Luc. *Salt.* 79 refers to a performance with satyrs, *boukoloi* and corybants, as well as to the *hieros gamos* of Ares and Aphrodite, Luc. *Salt.* 63. We are informed of the *Theoinia* and *Iobakcheia* celebrated at Athens by the *gerarai* (c. Ne. 78), the elderly women involved in various rituals, including the *Anthesteria*, on which see Robertson 1993, 231–238. Liban. *Ep.* 1212, 1213, ed. Foerster XI 293–294 says that ‘these men are servants of Dionysus and they perform each year the myths of the god’. See also Plut. *Mor.*, 2999 e–f, for a Dionysian group personifying the Minyads. Phil. *Vit. Ap.* 4.21, provides evidence of a sacred drama on the life of Orpheus, with groups of people personifying *horai*, *nymphai*, and *backhai*. On this passage see Hamilton 1992, 52.

#### 427

Palmisciano 2012, part. 198–206.

#### 428

[Aristot.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.5. See Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 1 ff; Simon 1983, 92–98; Spineto 2005, 76–86; Hamilton 1992, 56 disputes the notion that the *hieros gamos* took place at the *Anthesteria*.

#### 429

Scholion *ad* Aristoph. *Ra.*, 218; Diog. Laert. 3. 56, *Ath.* 4. 130d.; cf Plut. *Dec. Or.*, 841 f, who also attributes to Lycurgus the introduction of the selection of comic actors at the *agones chytirnoi*. See partic. Spineto 2005, 119–123.

#### 430

See also Nielsen 2002, 52.

#### 431

See, on this point, Parker 2005, 141.

#### 432

Kolb 1981.

#### 433

See Sakka 2008.

#### 434

On the standing of Sparta in modern scholarship, see

Hodkinson 2010.

### 435

Greco 2011, 56–66. The wider circle has a diameter of 43. 30 metres, containing a perfectly concentric structure with a diameter of 16. 70 metres.

### 436

*Idem*, 62; Athenian *Skias*, *EM*, s.v.

### 437

On the *gymnopaediae*, see Brelich 1969, 138–140. Herodotus (6. 67) speaks more generally of a *theatron*.

### 438

See *supra*.

### 439

For documentation on the *ikria*, *Athenian Agora III*, ns. 524–528.

### 440

See the reconstruction offered by Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 108 ff.

### 441

The passage, however, is not entirely clear, see Parker 2005, 317, n. 98.

### 442

See Thompson 1976, 87.

### 443

The flattering dithyramb won Pindar a statue in the agora, probably near the Orchestra. See Parker 2005, 318, and n. 100 arguing for a performance by the altar of the Twelve Gods.

### 444

See Thompson 1950, Anti and Polacco 1969, 192–196.

### 445

Aristot. *Poet.* 1449a12, ‘the phallic songs which survive as institutions in many cities to this day’, τὰ φαλλικά ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα; see also *Pol.* 7, 7, 1342 a 7–11, on *hiera mele*.

#### 446

On performances at the demes, see Whitehead 1986, in part. 215–220, *Plat., Rep.* 475d. Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 45–51; Mikalson 1975, Parker 1987; Csapo and Slater 1995, 124–132; Csapo 2010, 89–95; on theatres at the demes, see Arias 1934; on festivals see Mikalson 1977 and Parker 1987, Wilson 2000; and on the funding system of theatres at the demes see Wilson 2010.

#### 447

See Wiles 1997, 23–36.

#### 448

*Idem*, 24.

#### 449

Kolb 1981, 72, n. 24, on Rhamnous 66–72.

#### 450

Anti 1947, 45–47. The *koilon* was provided with marble benches, from the mid-fifth century, the first in Attica, Van Looy 1994, 17.

#### 451

On the calendar of Thorikos, see AC 52, 1983 150–174, ll. 57–62; Whitehead 1986, 194–199.

#### 452

On the lists of *choregoi* and dramatic inscriptions, see Summa 2001 and 2006. For plausible interpretations of the practice of bidding for the appointment as *choregos* see Wilson 2007a.

#### 453

See Moretti 2000. Csapo 2007, 105–107, argues convincingly for the impermanent character of the fifth-century *theatron*. See also *supra*,

#### 454

The traditional estimate of the seating capacity (amounting to over 10,000 people), should be reduced to about 7,000. See for example *Idem*, 97–98.

#### 455

See Wiles 1997, 55–56.

#### 456

Kolb 1981 argues that Athens would not have invested so much work for five days a year; much like the *Odeion* where trials and gatherings regularly took place. Martin 1951, and Longo 1988 have similarly argued for the political priority of the theatre building, but see, *contra*, Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 51–53. Csapo 2007, 106–107 reassess the question, drawing attention to the fact that in the fifth century the Athenian assembly met but rarely in the theatre of Dionysus, since its capacity ‘was in fact smaller than or equal to the *ekklesiasterion* of the Pnyx and (...) seating was only available in the theatre during the festival season’, 107. The proxemic homology with the Pnyx and with its transformations is however highly meaningful, see Wiles 1997, 34–36.

#### 457

See Easterling 1997b, and Palmisciano in this volume, ‘Dramatic Actions’. For dithyramb see in general Zimmermann 1992, Ieranò 1997, Kowalzig and Wilson 2013.

#### 458

On cultic dithyramps see Cerri 2009, who assigns the loss of the text to the ephemerality of their ritual destination, which ‘prescribed a *hic et nunc* improvisation’. See Csapo and Miller 2007, 8–9, D’Alessio 2013.

#### 459

See Zimmermann 1992, 36 and *passim*.

#### 460

See Ieranò 2013.

#### 461

See Palmisciano, ‘Oral Poetry’, in this volume. See Kowalzig 2007, 6–7 for submerged choral songs having ‘the shape of traditional oral hymns which were only picked up by tradition when they presented peculiar features’. See however Budelmann 2013, for arguments suggesting early reperformances of texts beyond the original occasion.

#### 462

Finkelberg 2006.

#### 463

See Budelmann 2013, 95 who rightly notes that ‘competition does not void ritual embedding, but it does insistently



prompt considerations of skill and comparison with other songs: it makes a difference to the balance’.

#### 464

Osborne 1993, 33.

#### 465

Rossi 2000, 169, ‘nel giro di pochi anni [Atene] avviò due operazioni di controllo dei testi: la redazione pisistratea dell’epica e l’organizzazione dei concorsi e delle rappresentazioni drammatiche’. Connor 1989 thinks that the Great Dionysia were established after the overthrow of the Pisistratids as a celebration of Athenian freedom.

#### 466

Tragedy previous to that of Phrynicus and Aeschylus, and going back to whatever the name Thespis represents, was probably submerged because of its proximity with other ritual performances.

#### 467

See Hall 1989, 160–165, Easterling 1994, Taplin 1999, Spineto 2005, 277–287, Scodel 2001, Carter 2011. I cannot take issue here with some of the problems implicit in some of these contributions, I will just note that the Athenian ‘local’ dimension does not contradict her Panhellenic aspiration, as Athens’ endeavours in the fifth century were oriented to featuring prominently on the Panhellenic scene, and the framework of the Great Dionysia is but the perfect scene to stage Athenian primacy among the other Greeks.

#### 468

See Wilson 2009, 16–17 and Wilson and Hartwig 2009, 18 with epigraphical evidence, 22–23.

#### 469

Longo 1990 (originally published in 1976), 16. On these civic ceremonies, see Goldhill 1990, Goldhill 2000, and Wilson 2009.

#### 470

Tributes of the allies: Isoc. *de Pac.*, 82; Aristoph. *Ach.* 496–508 and scholium *ad* 504; libations of the ten generals: Plut. *Cim.* 8.7–9; panoply to the war orphans: Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 153; honorary crowns: *de Cor.* 120 and *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 102, on which Wilson

and Hartwig 2009.

#### 471

Much as Athenian festivals and sacrifices were famous for their brilliance and lavishness, as in [Xenophon.], *Ath. Pol.* 2. 9. Similarly Athenian processions were regarded as ‘emerging’ over the other ‘not for their nature but for their excellence’, Kavoulaki 1999, 299; see also Connor 1996a, 87–88 and Athens as a ‘festival society’.

#### 472

Easterling 2006, 4.

#### 473

Scodel 2001, 220, on the subject see also Wilson 2011. On the ‘Athenianness’ of tragedy see Carter 2011, and Griffith and Carter 2011.

#### 474

Scholion *ad* Aristoph., *Pl.*, 954, where it is said that strangers could partake in the chorus at the *Lenaea* and metics could undertake the *choregia*. This is all the more interesting as the *Lenaea* were regarded an ‘intimate’ festival in comparison with the Dionysia. For the civic meaning of the *choregia* see Wilson 2000, 12–21 and *passim*. For ‘civic tragedy’, see Giordano 2006a and 2006b.

#### 475

As Scodel 2001, 223 has phrased it, ‘with tragedy and later comedy, Athens had a native product to export’.

#### 476

*Vit. Aesch.* 12, schol. *ad* Aristoph. *Ach.* 10. For the fortune of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* in the fifth century, see Easterling 2005, part. 30–34.

#### 477

*Fasti*, IG II<sup>2</sup> 2318, 201–203. See Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 99–100; Easterling 1997b; Taplin 1999, Nervegna 2007, Csapo 2010, 83 ff.

#### 478

Taplin 1999, 37 backdates the practice to the time of Herodotus; Pöhlmann had actually come to the same conclusion: see the discussion of Scodel’s paper in Scodel 2001, 226; and Finkelberg 2006.

#### 479

Easterling 2006, 4. For the phenomenon of reperformance and of the spreading of drama in Sicily and Southern Italy, see Boshier 2012.

#### 480

Lycurgus invested a great deal in promoting the 'image' of Athens, and paid particular attention to theatre, building the stone theatre of Dionysus. On the politics of Lycurgus, see Parker 1996, 242–255.

#### 481

According to Kovacs 2005, 382, the expression ἐν κοινῷ refers to a 'combined copy of their plays', on the assumption that official copies of the tragedies were already kept. See *infra*.

#### 482

Rossi 2000, 169–170.

#### 483

Scodel 2007, 151.

#### 484

Battezzato 2003b, 11 ff.

#### 485

It would also be worth considering the influence and interest of single *gene* in preserving certain tragedies over others: see for example the interest of Lycurgus in Euripides' *Erechtheus*, as argued by Sonnino 2010, 110–119. As for the case of gentilitian role in the organization of Great Dionysia in general, Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 312–339 has convincingly argued that no *genos* had a particular connection with the festival.

#### 486

A most striking case since he was honoured with a statue while he was alive and before the setting up of the three statues of the tragic triad: see Scodel 2007, 147–149.

#### 487

Easterling 2006, 3. See also Nervegna 2007, 41 for a close scrutiny of the new formats and codes, serving school teachers and singers alike, under which the texts were transmitted.

**488**

On this, see Gentili 1979.

**489**

See for example Battezzato 2003a.

**490**

Easterling 2006, 2, maintaining, furthermore, 'a more flexible approach, which recognizes that one performance medium might modulate into another, and indeed that there is nothing inherently wrong with such developments'. See also Csapo 2010, 85-89.

**491**

Easterling 2005, 25. I like the term 'multifunctionality' better than 'universal potential' in Taplin 1999, 56, as the term 'universal' tends to convey some degree of evaluative connotation.

**492**

In analysing a society, anthropologists (Pike 1954-1960) use the term 'etic' for the point of view of an external observer (and consequently the analysis of the same society according to thought-systems extraneous to it, but belonging to the observer), while by 'emic' is meant the internal point of view, that of the society's own members (and thus the analysis of the society according to its own conceptual schemes).

**493**

See Ercolani and Palmisciano in the present volume, and Nicolai forthcoming.

**494**

See Lulli in this volume.

**495**

See particularly Palmisciano 'Oral Culture' in the present volume. On the prominence of performance and occasion see Gentili 2006 (1984<sup>1</sup>), Goldhill and Osborne 1999.

**496**

Palmisciano 'Oral Culture' in the present volume.

**497**

See Sbardella and Lulli in the present volume.

### **498**

See Sbardella in the present volume, and Sbardella 2012.

### **499**

See Nicolai in the present volume.

### **500**

See the seminal work of Svenbro 1984 (= Svenbro 1976), and Seaford 2004.

### **501**

Namely the respect or even competitive impulse revealed when referring to Homer as iconic figure of the Homeric epicorhapsodic tradition: See Nagy 1990 and Sbardella 2007.

### **502**

The notorious polemic between Hiero and Xenophanes (Xenophan. B III 21 A 11 D.-K. = Plut. *Mor.* 175c) in the Siceliot world as to how many people live off the name and fame of Homer would seem to be precisely a reflection of the now complete professionalization of rhapsodic performers in the period concerned.

### **503**

See Maehler 1963; Svenbro 1984 (= Svenbro 1976), 125–173; Goldhill 1991; Lefkowitz 1991.

### **504**

See Colesanti in the present volume.

### **505**

The same process applies even to very common but traditionally anonymous forms such as the epigram on stone or other support.

### **506**

See Giordano, Palmisciano ‘Dramatic Actions’, and Sonnino in this volume.

### **507**

See Loraux 1981 and Ziolkowski 1981.

### **508**

See Colesanti in the present volume.

### **509**

A telling instance is that of Pindar, whose contacts with Athens, albeit unconfirmed, were nonetheless duly recorded in a 'biography' with a markedly Panhellenic slant. Pindar's *bios* as transmitted in POxy 2438 (ll. 9–10) reports the tradition of his sojourn at Athens as a young poet, where he supposedly won in a dithyrambic agon: thus Pindar too, on account of his renown and standing, and in spite of not being Athenian, was forcedly pulled into the cultural orbit of Athens, however marginally.

### 510

See Giordano in the present volume, Giordano 2006a and Giordano 2006b, Sonnino 2010.

### 511

The forms and levels of Athenian public discourse are manifold, ranging from speeches delivered at, e.g., the residence of Callias to those delivered at the Pnyx, with the different degree of publicity involved.

### 512

See Fraser 1986, 315–319 and Pretagostini 2007, 61 ff. A decisive factor at this juncture (or the most eminent factor at any rate) would appear to have been the segregation of intellectuals within exclusive cultural circles, mainly the monarchic courts or the *mouseia* of the more important poleis, and the deliberate creation of intellectual *elites*. This, more than any other factor, over the course of the entire development of Greek culture, contributed to bring about an evaluation of the literary comparable to its present standing, to the extent of marking a distinction that is to all effects and purposes analogous to our categories of the 'submerged' and 'lost'. On this point see Sbardella's essay in vol. II, forthcoming.

### 513

The Alexandrian grammarians certainly played a pivotal role in the dynamics of the selection of texts. Pfeiffer's authoritative reconstruction of the history of classical philology, published in 1968, played down the importance of the Peripatos, underlining the innovative aspects of Alexandrian scholarship in contrast with earlier literary research. In the years that followed, however, scholars have questioned this reconstruction and underlined again the debt of Alexandrian scholarship to Aristotle and his pupils and,

more generally, the significance of the Aristotelian school in the development of Hellenistic philology in Alexandria – to the extent that Aristarchus, the most influential of the Alexandrian philologists, demonstrably used Aristotelian principles in his work (see in particular Rossi 1976, a review of Pfeiffer's 1968 book), Nicolai 1992, 265 ff., Montanari 1993, 262–264, and the detailed discussion in Richardson 1994; on the use of Aristotelian principles in the work of Aristarchus see Schironi 2009b).

## **514**

Sources attribute the first canons to the Alexandrian scholars. See Nicolai and Broggiato in the present volume.

## **515**

See Rossi 1971. Taking the cue from this study, his pupils have recently applied the category on the formal level: see *SemRom*, n.s. 1. 2, 2012.

## **516**

See Finkelberg 1998, Nicolai 2004a.